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The three rules of the game of global chess

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Chess and the East-West conflict have three rules in common. The world is divided into two; conventional pawns and nuclear knights make different moves; and figures are constantly on the move whether they want to or not.

There are limits to this chess analogy, of course. While the Soviet Union both in political theory and in manoeuvre practice aims at supremacy, power projection and denuclearisation of Western Europe, Nato always has just enough figures on the board to discourage the other side from making too risky a move, to maintain its own position and to rule out war.

The West never wanted to do more than contain the East Bloc, as was seen in East Berlin in 1953 and in Budapest in 1956. The roll-back theory was mere fine words and the rhetoric of moral conquest.

The geometry of world affairs, unlike that of the chessboard, is asymmetrical. The Soviet land-based empire faces a naval alliance of countries lining the Atlantic seaboard.

Nato's military tent-pegs are naval units, air force squadrons, forward-stationed troops and, lastly and in the final analysis, nuclear weapons.

On the chessboard of world affairs the nuclear knights command attention and seem to predominate the play by virtue of their speed, precision and destructive potential.

Yet since parity was established between the nuclear knights on each side, they have condemned each other to inactivity. Their war game has been cancelled.

They might almost be felt no longer to really exist, their strategy being mere pantomime. True enough, if the knights really were thrown into battle, their entire empire would be destroyed — which, presumably, is why they are not thrown into the fray.

Yet that still leaves the pawns on the board, particularly in its centre. For the moment their role is to man the watch and sound the alarm.

In the event of an emergency they are also envisaged as giving the knights a pause for thought. But once the knights have immobilised each other by means of the balance of terror the pawns' day may come.

On a chessboard without officers they would decide the outcome of battle, with the prospect of victory for the side that can muster more pawns.

As everyone realises this might happen the outcome can be calculated in advance without a shot being fired and power projection comes into its own. Since the 1986 Reykjavik summit the Europeans have been even more keenly aware of the fact.

Forty years ago the North Atlantic pact was formed withg strong officers and weak men. Stalin's Russia had tank and artillery units in bulk that were deliberately given nuclear cover.

Research began in 1942, followed in 1949 by the Soviet atomic bomb, in 1953 by the Soviet hydrogen bomb and in 1957 by Soviet intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Parity, foreseen in the late 1950s, gave rise after the Berlin and Cuba crises to detente in world affairs.

The Soviet army of pawns did not cease to increase in size, but its supremacy seemed bearable for the West on two (to some extent mutually contradictory) counts:

One was the supremacy of the nuclear knights over the other side's numerous pawns, the other was the certainty that the knights had an assured capacity for mutual destruction, including that of the pawns too.

The gloomy philosophy of "mutual assured destruction" held forth the promise of security by virtue of shared risk. Both sides were bound to realise that their own populations, and those of their allies, were hostages and guarantors of best nuclear behaviour.

In the 1973 anti-ballistic missile treaty this led to the formula of a mutual renunciation of, not to say a ban on, anti-missile capacity.

Arms control came to form a part of security policy. Now, with fear and hope exerting a profound effect on the open societies of the West, it also forms part of strategy by other means.

The players have never played the game according to the same rules. Below officer level the Soviet Union has since 1970 built up a fresh potential of medium-range missiles that threaten the Western pawns but not the American knights.

Nato responded with missile modernisation and a demonstration of nuclear solidarity. The result has been a fresh stalemate and a precarious balance.

At the same time the Americans are trying to gain safety from war between the knights by SDI, while the Soviet Union is busily engaged in counter-research and development that has yet to be given a corresponding name.

Will the double zero solution bring the game to an end, tilting the board? President Reagan is keen to ease the burden on his hard-hit Presidency by notching up a negotiated success in Geneva, preferably covering SDI.

At the same time America would dearly like to escape the consequences of the fact that European security requires the United States to throw its own security into the balance.

America may not be turning to isolationism, but both ends of the US political spectrum are agreed in seeking to establish a safety margin and gain sovereignty and distance from the nuclear risk posed by Central Europe.

That may not decide the outcome of the game under way in connection with the order and shape of Europe, but it seems sure to bring about change.

As Lothar Rühl of the Bonn Defence Ministry wrote in his *Mittelstreckenwaffen in Europa* (Medium-Range Weapons in Europe), 1987:

The military geographic situation in Europe will favour the waging of a limited war by the Soviet Union "if resort to nuclear weapons by Nato can be ruled out."

Soviet nuclear armament has far-reaching regional aggressive options the purpose of which is to block Nato's escalation capability in the event of an attack on Western Europe:

"That was why Nato's offer to dispense with land-based longer-range intermediate nuclear forces capable of reaching Soviet territory was of such enormous and exemplary strategic and political importance — and why it prompted Soviet interest, even if only at a late stage, in their elimination."

The double zero solution ends a nuclear commitment in Europe that America has come to regard as a burden. If arms control makes any further headway Bonn may find itself in a dilemma.

It could find itself on its own as a location of short-range nuclear systems, and separated from the West by a firescreen the existence of which might have far-reaching politico-psychological consequences.

Either that or it might be denuclearised, in which the pawns would be on their own, without cover. Neither option can be in Nato's interest.

In this situation it is important to make sure what the basis of security and deterrence is. Coupling European and US security is not a matter of technical or military means but of US resolve to make Europe's security America's own and of how the Soviet Union views this attitude.

Arms are a symbol and an *ultima ratio*. They are not the substance that holds the Atlantic alliance together. So it would be an exaggeration — and politically unwise — to talk in terms of decoupling.

To do so could prove to be a self-fulfilling prophecy, and the game of chess is not yet over.

The pawns will continue to need the knights for some time. Otherwise the war of pawns would be over before it had even begun.

Michael Stürmer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 July 1987)

Joint missile deal

Bonn Defence Minister Manfred Wörner (left) and American Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger signing in Washington a deal to make jointly a naval missile, the Rolling Airframe Missile (scale model at rear). (Photo: dpa)

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Strides or just steps? The Gorbachov era

The West has been confronted with constant change since Mr Gorbachov came to office in Moscow. Views on what the Soviet leader have done vary widely.

Uncritical admirers seeing him as a sort of prince of peace and bringer of salvation. This school of thought argues that sinister figures in the corridors of power in the West are trying to trip him up.

However, other people feel that so far there has been little real change in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachov's initiatives may be no more than words and they must at least be viewed with mistrust. Even if he is serious about reforms, success is not assured.

Gorbachov policies, especially how they are affecting Moscow's allies in Eastern and South-East Europe, were discussed at a meeting of the South-East Europe Association held near Bonn.

The prevailing view was that Mr Gorbachov's reforms are still in their early days and have yet to achieve more than limited tangible results.

Mention was made of greater openness, of improvements in the legal system, of revolutionary economic ideas and of a more realistic foreign policy toward the West.

The Soviet Union clearly wanted reform, change and broad modernisation of the socialist system on a broad basis.

That meant new situations for the West in many sectors. There was no point in classifying developments solely in terms of good or bad; what mattered was to keep a close eye on trends and to maintain the ability to react politically.

In such a large country as the Soviet Union, traditionally governed along authoritarian lines, the wind of change, atmospheric and other imponderables must not be underestimated.

Changes in outlook at the top have always had a striking effect. The political leadership and the intelligentsia, as the backbone of Mr Gorbachov's support, have always counted for more in Russia than elsewhere.

But although it is true that both the machinery of government and the public, whose standard of living has not improved more than slightly, don't like the pains reform brings, both must take their bearings from the reformer, Gorbachov.

Political effect has been achieved less by specific formulas and measures than by creating a climate of opinion in which food for thought was important and thought itself was allowed greater freedom.

Even if Mr Gorbachov were, in the final analysis, to fail in his bid for change, the Soviet Union would still never again be the same as it had been under Brezhnev.

Unlike Nikita Khrushchev, the present Soviet leader was a man who thought in an orderly manner, and his rational initiatives were likely to be more longlived than Khrushchev's emotions.

As for Eastern and South-East Europe, abstraction from the "specific Gorbachov" was said to be even more far-reaching.

Mr Gorbachov was developing a political effect because, rightly or wrongly, he was felt to stand for something the peoples of Eastern Europe and their intellectuals demanded of their own leaderships.

Mr Gorbachov was said in these countries to advocate more open, more democratic, freer conditions. He had realised that people could not be expected to devote effort or voice approval unless they were offered something, both materially and intellectually, in return.

The theory of "national independence" and "individual circumstances" that used to be advanced in defence of reform tendencies against Soviet hegemony in East and South-East Europe is now said to be wielded as an argument by East European leaders who insist on dogmatic positions and oppose reforms.

Some leaderships are felt to face twofold pressure, domestic and external, with the ball in their court.

Individual groups among the leadership, in Czechoslovakia for instance, are well aware that they stand to derive political benefit from identifying themselves with Mr Gorbachov.

Rumania under Mr Ceausescu is way out on a limb, having become equally unattractive as a partner for both East and West.

Mr Gorbachov, the conference was told, had taken great care during his visit to Bucharest to respect Rumania's national independence. But he was looking beyond Mr Ceausescu and his dynasty.

Poland probably sees Mr Gorbachov's ideas as a major impetus, while Bulgaria seems to be following them

Frankfurter Allgemeine

too, with substantial amendments of its own.

In Czechoslovakia and East Germany it would seem uncertain whether Mr Gorbachov's reform moves extend to politics or not. Mere economic reforms are probably favoured everywhere but in Rumania. But political reforms and democratisation seem unwelcome.

If that continues to be the case, a number of East Bloc leaderships might run into difficulties even though Mr Gorbachov may not want them to do so.

Hungary, which has so far led the reform field in the East Bloc, has had to bear the brunt of widespread criticism.

Hungarian reforms are now accepted, less because Mr Gorbachov himself would like to emulate them than because they are in keeping with the quest for new approaches and answers the Soviet leader feel ought in future to be the yardstick of communist activity.

Does that mean Hungary will cease to be a special case? The answer in Budapest appears to be that after carrying out its programme of economic reforms Hungary now faces the problem of political democratisation.

At the same time economic reforms must be implemented more thoroughly and in a more root-and-branch manner, given the serious difficulties they face. So many Hungarians feel their country can keep up its pioneering role.

The conference also dealt with whether Mr Gorbachov's striving for "modernisation" of the communist empire and for even closer cooperation might not hamper East Bloc countries

Continued on page 13

Syria returns to diplomatic favour with the West

The official Syrian party newspaper, *Al Baath*, says the country again has diplomatic links with the West because accusations that it was actively involved in terrorism were untrue.

The Americans, who have re-established diplomatic links, see it differently. They say Syria has changed its attitude toward terrorism — for example, it has closed the Damascus office of the notorious terrorist, Abu Nidal.

Whichever view it more accurate, the fact remains that President Reagan sent his UN ambassador, Vernon Walters, to Damascus and that Bonn and Damascus have exchanged ambassadors again.

Relations between Syria and the West reached a low point last autumn when America, Britain and the West Germany accused the Syrian secret service of taking part in several terrorist attacks.

Now, it hardly matters whether the West has suddenly been convinced that Syria is the picture of innocence.

The Bonn government recalled its ambassador, who was due to be replaced in any case, reluctantly and only under US and British pressure.

Western governments have since come to realise that no political progress in the Middle East is possible without Syria. A Middle East conference cannot, for instance, be held without it.

Active, constructive Syrian participation is essential, otherwise a conference would be condemned to insignificance, given that it can be said with some certainty that there will be no separate peace treaty between Jordan and Israel.

Jordan could only come to terms with Israel, terms it could survive politically and militarily with regard to Syria, if Israel were to make substantial concessions such as returning the West Bank to Amman, which is an unlikely prospect.

Jordan has also long sought to return to the Arab fold, as it were, and to persuade Syria to scrap its alliance with Iran and come to reconciliation terms with Iraq.

King Hussein's skilful diplomacy has succeeded in arranging one meeting between "arch-enemies" President Assad of Syria and Saddam Hussein of Iraq, and a further meeting is planned.

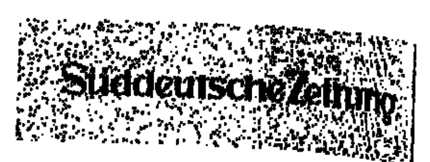
King Hussein cannot afford to jeopardise diplomatic moves he has masterminded for nearly two years by entering into negotiations with Israel on a separate peace. He can merely use the option to exert pressure on the Syrian leader.

Yet this card is not a very high trump. If Iraq and Syria are "reconciled," Jordan would have to join them at a Middle East conference.

A further motiving force for intra-Arab reconciliation is King Fahd of Saudi Arabia, host of the long-planned and constantly postpoed Arab summit conference.

He needs the conference to be a success, and no Middle East conference is likely to be held before an Arab summit conference is successfully held, demonstrating a minimum of Arab unity.

The Soviet aim is to lend diplomatic assistance in arranging an Arab summit conference and then to take part in a Middle East conference as the godfather of Arab unity, as it were.



The Soviet Union was a motive force behind the mid-April PLO summit in Algiers, for instance.

It comes as no surprise to learn that intra-Arab "reconciliation talks" include specific offers, with President Assad being told Kuwait and Saudi Arabia were prepared to supply Syria with 50,000 barrels of oil a day if he would scrap his alliance with Iran.

That would be more than enough to offset the one million tons a year Iran currently ships to Syria free of charge to keep President Assad sweet.

There can be little doubt that the Syrian leader has steadily regained ground of late after having been left in a political limbo when his country was accused of being actively associated with terrorism.

President Assad's commitments in Lebanon clearly impose a heavy burden on Syria, although they have brought political benefits.

He may not have succeeded in liberating Western hostages from pro-Iranian guerrilla captivity; the kidnapping of an American journalist from under Syrian eyes was evidently intended as a challenge to President Assad.

But there can be no settlement in Lebanon either without Syrian participation and approval.

Danny Chamoun, a possible Maronite Christian candidate for the Lebanese presidency, may have toured the United States canvassing support for his ideas.

The markedly anti-Syrian commander of the Christian militia Forces Libanaises, Samir Geagea, may also plan to tour the United States to canvass support.

But the fact remains that the Syrian connection carries more weight in Lebanon.

Syria now plans to convene a Lebanese National Alliance in Damascus, consisting of its allies the *Druses*, the moderate Shi'ites and the *Sunnites*, that will be of greater political importance than the loose ties between Chamoun, Geagea and the Maronite President Amin Gemayel.

So President Assad's diplomacy has regained momentum, and virtually none of the numerous Middle East conflicts can be resolved without Syrian participation.

He could even bring about a political change in the Gulf War — by severing his alliance ties with Iran.

Heiko Flottau

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 27 July 1987)

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Minister causes row with Chilean torture comment

Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm has caused a furore by telling Chilean dictator Pinochet to his face in Santiago that the Chilean government tortures its political opponents. Blüm was on an official visit. He received support from his Christian Democrat colleagues back in Germany, but criticism from the Bavarian wing of the party, the Christian Social Union. The minister, who has connections with Amnesty International, was among other things gathering information in Chile about 15 Chileans facing terrorist charges who want political asylum in West Germany. He is cutting short his trip to South America to attend a meeting of the Bundestag foreign affairs committee called to discuss the Chile affair.

The press conference given by CDU business manager Heiner Geissler was officially described as a presentation of "Key Working Issues of the CDU as a People's Party of the Centre".

But the predominant theme was the visit to Chile by Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blüm.

Blüm, who is one of the seven deputy chairman of the CDU, was requested by the party presidium to represent German Christian Democrats at a celebration of the 30th anniversary of the Chilean sister party in Santiago.

At the same time he was, as government spokesman Friedhelm Ost put it, en route "on behalf of the Federal Chancellor" to gather on-the-spot information on 15 Chileans who may be sentenced to death and who have sought political asylum in the Federal Republic.

The issue has caused a dispute within the coalition.All 15 applicants, two of them women, belong to the banned Movement of the Revolutionary Left (MIR) which has taken up arms against the Pinochet regime.

The 15 stand accused of having taken part in armed holdups, bomb attacks and murders and have been in custody for between four and seven years.

Four of the underground fighters were sentenced to death but a further hearing could overturn this. The others are also likely to receive the death sentence.

Since 1975 a special decree (Decree 504) has been in force in Chile according to which an official prison sentence — not, however, the death penalty — can be commuted upon request to deportation.

Anyone who wants to ensure the release of the 15 Chileans, therefore, must try to reduce the sentence from the death penalty to imprisonment first.

The next step is to find a country willing to grant asylum to the persons in question.

Several Western European countries, including Belgium, France and Austria, have, following inquiries by the relatives of the 15 Chileans, announced that they would be willing to grant asylum.

The West German *Länder* Bremen, Hamburg and Saarland (all led by SPD governments) as well as Hesse and Lower Saxony (CDU-led) would afford refuge to the Chileans to save their lives.

Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann (CSU), however, has misgivings about whether such a move is justifiable from a security point of view.

Unmoved by his awareness of the existence of torture in Chilean prisons Zimmermann announced that "existing security reservations must be weighed up against humanitarian aspects".

During two cabinet meetings on 24 June and 23 July the Bonn government was forced to discuss this problem after Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP) had taken up this issue and, contary to the opinion epxressed by Interior Minister Zimmermann, came out in favour of granting asylum to the Chileans threatened by the death sentence "for humanitarian reasons".

Chancellor Kohl was unable to settle the dispute and called upon his cabinet ministers to wait until the final verdicts have been returned in Chile before taking a decision.

Kohl then urged his ministers to demonstrate "unity and solidarity", tidied up his desk and went on holiday in Austria.

After a public row flared up despite Kohl's soothing words all the Chancellor could say was an unimaginative "No comment".

It is hardly likely that Blüm, who began his trip to Chile on 23 July in order to, as the CDU press office announced, "support human rights and democracy", knew nothing about the cabinet arrangements.

It is equally improbable that Kohl was surprised when he heard about the remarks made in Chile by his Labour Minister.

Although other federal ministers before Blüm, for example Hans Matthöfer (SPD), referred to the dictators who have ruled in Chile for fourteen years as a "bunch of murderers" none have caused such a stir.

The majority of West German newspapers and even the foreign press have expressed their respect at Blüm's courageous stance.

Although Norbert Blüm (52) has a reputation for making the odd rash remark he is a professional politician and knows when people are most likely to sit up and listen to his own personal views.

Before setting off for Chile Blüm already fixed numerous dates for telephone calls with West German journalists.

These interviews ensured that Blüm's unambiguous remarks ("There are no diplomatic considerations, no fair-weathering, only contempt and abhorrence") were given full coverage by the media.

It can be taken for granted that Blüm also knew that he would annoy Interior Minister Zimmermann as well as CSU chairman Franz Josef Strauss.

Strauss reacted promptly: "This is not the embarrassing action of some ignorant tourist who has lost his way in the field of foreign policy, but a federal minister and member of the CDU who has stabbed the Interior Minister of his own government in the back".

Zimmerman in the meantime announced that he would ring up Blüm in Chile and ask him "whether he took the opportunity to talk to the relatives of the victims, the bank employees and car-park attendants who were shot dead, and not just to the relatives of the terrorists".

"I shall ask him," he continued, "whether he has spoken to the widows and orphans of those who were murdered and were victims of the bomb attacks, and what they think about the situation and justice in Chile".

This statement reveals the background to the coalition dispute: the FDP and large part of the CDU support the granting of asylum to the tortured Chileans threatened by the death sentence, whereas the CSU emphasises the security risks of allowing terrorists to enter the country.

The crimes committed by the military junta and the death squads they cover up is a secondary aspect for the CSU.

Zimmermann did not make his announced phone call and will now have to wait until Blüm, whose visit to Chile will be followed by an adventure holiday in Brazil, returns to Bonn in mid-August.

Heiner Geissler, however, managed to track down his party colleague in the Peruvian capital Lima and talk to him on the phone.

The CDU general secretary, who wants to take up the problem of "human rights", publicly gave Blüm his full support — in the name of Chancellor Kohl too — and was equally outspoken in his views about the military rule of Strauss friend Pinochet.

"They are fascists, whose only criticism of the German Nazis is the fact that Hitler lost the war."

Helmut Löhlöffel

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 July 1987)

Coalition beset by internal bickering

Wrangling within the Bonn coalition cannot be dismissed as a mere storm in a teacup even though some of the gibes and clashes of ideas and suggestions and rejections are due to silly-season sensationalism and a lust for headlines.

In other years, top-ranking Bonn politicians have managed to steer clear of this kind of publicity. Today's controversies and their protagonists are of a different calibre.

The sharp criticism levelled by the CSU "troika" of Franz Josef Strauss, Edmund Stoiber and Gerold Tandler, at the CDU leadership and the FDP shows this clearly enough.

The dispute over disarmament, Deutschlandpolitik, tax cuts, subsidies for farmers and hundreds of other branches of industry, demonstration laws, the problem of foreigners etc. have all revealed that many leading figures in the Bonn coalition are permamently getting on each other's nerves.

Apart from the usual party-political infighting structural differences in the concept of the coalition and with regard to voter potential are major reasons for the rift.

Chancellor Kohl's call for greater discipline is of very little if any use.

On the contrary, Kohl himself has been repeatedly accused of being a weak leader and lacking competence, and according to CSU chairman Strauss the criticism has not altered the situation.

The Chancellor and chairman of the CDU may not be all that familiar with the complicated and problem-laden fields of foreign, security, fiscal or social policy.

He knows, however, that there is no alternative to the CDU/CSU/FDP coalition, and to his own person, for some time to come.

This explains why the seemingly unflappable Chancellor has survived for so long and kept his rivals at bay.

This could change. In the CDU, and above all in the CSU with its political roots in the traditional Bavarian-Swabian conservatism, many conservative voters have lost their orientation.

Numerous local conservative politicians feel the same way.

They see no sign of the fundamental change the conservative-cum-liberal government promised in Bonn in 1982.

There has been no "clearing up", "sorting things out", "restoring of authority", "overcoming of immorality" or "upholding of values", they claim.

They are expected to accept the fact that Russians, Americans and even the French ignore what they have believed for thirty years to be "German interests", i.e. to accept that disarmament be negotiated with the same Communists who were criticised only yesterday as being unreliable.

East German leader Erich Honecker is to be welcomed with military honours in Bonn in September!

The same people polemicise against "Brussels" who only recently advocated the speedy establishment of a united Europe.

Policies are planned for women, but no changes planned to the abortion laws . . .

According to CSU all this is making more and more conservative voters refrain from voting.

These voters, the CSU claims, must be given a new motivation by creating a distinct party image and via subsidies.

The CSU analysts apparently ignore the fact that completely different motives exist among non-voters, namely frustration at the loss of power by political parties and their empty promises.

It is hoped that more money and stricter laws will restore the world of values which can no longer be restored in its previous form.

Together with personal envy this is the most deeply-rooted reason for the dislike of the FDP.

Should this party of freethinkers and mobility be allowed to determine coalition policy guidelines?

The Bavarian CSU leaders cannot accept this fact.

On the other hand, we find the more opne-minded CDU politicans and the FDP.

Their analyses (by Geissler, Blüm, Schäuble, Süssmuth and Biedenkopf) differ substantially from those of the CSU.

In the FDP, which still has its traditional spectrum (between leftist-liberal and right-wing-liberal), there appears to be a more stable congruence with new sections of the electorate.

Genscher, with his wealth of experience and intellectual capacity, has excellent party colleagues.

Both the CDU and the FDP are aware of the rapidly changing structures in the Federal Republic of Germany, in East-West relations and in Europe.

The sights of party strategists are set on the segments of the electorate which will make or break the elections of tomorrow: the new middle class, the blue-collar careerists, the senior-ranking employees, the technical intelligentsia, and, last but not least, the better qualified women.

A new thinking has emerged in these groups and, consequently, a language which bears little resemblance to that used by those who fear change.

Although the Bonn coalition is not in jeopardy there is growing dissatisfaction.

Nerves are chafed by conflicting options, concepts and calculations.

When Chancellor Kohl returns from his holidays in Austria he has an uphill climb ahead.

Hans Heigert

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 27 July 1987)

■ PEOPLE IN POLITICS

Jenninger, the nation's political Third Man, doesn't stand on ceremony

The Speaker of the Bundestag, Philipp Jenninger, is a vastly different figure from his predecessor, Rainer Barzel.

Jenninger is refreshingly natural. He doesn't assume airs and graces. But if he lacks Barzel's notorious unctuousness, it is equally true that he lacks Barzel's intellectual bite.

Barzel, who resigned in 1984 following allegations of receiving illegal payments, often bore his parliamentary status as if it were some kind of monstrance.

Jenninger says he did not try to become the Speaker but now, having got there, he "welcomes it wholeheartedly".

Parliamentarians from all the political parties represented in the Bundestag are by and large satisfied with him.

Jenninger is a lawyer who had a successful career in the civil service and then made an impressive entry into the world of politics.

The job of Speaker was, so to speak, handed to him on a plate. It was above all as a result of his close ties with Helmut Kohl.

The fact that Jenninger previously worked for Franz Josef Strauss and was appointed parliamentary secretary by former Bonn President Karl Carstens broadened the horizon of his political activities for the CDU and CSU at an early stage.

The decisive political figure in his



life, however, apart from the man Jenninger often refers to himself, Heinrich Krone, was Helmut Kohl.

Those better acquainted with Jenninger claim that he has in the meantime moved out of the shadow of being a junior partner to Kohl.

Nevertheless, he has remained Kohl's close friend, and they both travel to Austria during their Easter holidays to lose a bit of weight.

Jenninger is aware of the fact that his close relationship with Kohl is not entirely without problems.

In an interview in which he declared his fundamental loyalty to the essence of political collaboration he also admitted his "friendly relationship" to Kohl.

He pointed out that he has also reprimanded Kohl in the Bundestag for his all too ready usage of the word "hypocrite".

The declaration of practised impartiality was totally unnecessary, since this should be taken for granted.

The attempt to publicly tone down the intensity of his friendship with Kohl is rooted in the fact that Kohl singled him out for the job of Bundestag Speaker after Rainer Barzel was obliged to resign on 26 October, 1984. Jenninger never thought this possible. What is more, he would liked to have remained minister of state responsible for *Deutschlandpolitik* in the Federal Chancellery — a close adviser to Chancellor Kohl.

Yet he was not in the executive long enough to establish roots there.

He was still a parliamentarian through and through, a fact which was not merely due to the thorough knowledge of the standing orders of the Bundestag acquired during his period as parliamentary secretary.

The office of Bundestag Speaker, however, still seems to be a problem for Jenninger.

The Speaker's task is a difficult one, since despite the fact that he is the third most important politician in the Federal Republic of Germany in terms of protocol (following the federal president and the president of the *Bundesrat*) he has little influence on day-to-day politics, i.e. on the operative shaping of policies.

All he can do is try and build bridges between the various parliamentary parties via his words and his personality.

To be successful the authority of office must be complemented by the authority of personality.

Jenninger has always been fascinated by *Deutschlandpolitik*.

Before his appointment as minister of state in the Bonn Chancellery, however, Jenninger did not have a reputation as an expert in this controversial policy field.

Jenninger's list of what makes a good Bundestag Speaker is a long one. Does he measure up to his own yardstick?

His political influence does indeed seem paltry, and his membership of the CDU presidium cannot alter this fact.

Jenninger has realised that exerting influence via the force of word and personality "takes time".

Nevertheless, the current Bundestag Speaker is, as Chancellor Kohl would say, on the right track.

Jenninger's parliamentary adversaries confirm that he not only has good intentions but that he also demonstrates a growing ability to lend his office impartiality and ensure respect.

He tries to avoid parliamentary conflict situations.

The often inevitable pressure from his own CDU/CSU parliamentary group often makes him feel uneasy.

Members of the parliamentary opposition occasionally claim that Jenninger lacks self-confidence and sovereignty.

On the other hand, even Greens maintain that he has integrational abilities.

Jenninger, who often flares up in private discussions, frequently disciplines the Greens in the Bundestag in a rather thoughtless way.

His reprimands sound more pig-headed and devoid of humour than those dished out by the presiding officers of other parliamentary bodies.

His predecessor Barzel appeared to be more lenient towards the Greens, even though this often seemed false.

Social Democrats criticise that Jenninger shows too little interest in the Bundestag's personnel policy.

Although this is a traditional shortcoming of the Bundestag Speaker this does not make the fact that there has been no regeneration of the parliamentary civil servants any less lamentable.

Reluctant to be a star . . . Phillip Jenninger. (Photo: Poly-Press)

On the other hand, Jenninger does show a strong interest in what is generally termed parliamentary reform.

He is extremely concerned about the fact that the Bundestag's reputation is not what is should be.

He constantly tells his fellow parliamentarians to do less to promote their own personal image and more to promote that of the Bundestag as a constitutional organ.

These are more than pleasant-sounding words.

The reserved Swabian Jenninger is not a readily outgoing personality and dislikes attempts to "sell" him as a political star.

Such abstinence is reflected in the fact that Jenninger is one of the political [illegible] popularity charts.

As regards Bundestag matters Jenninger is worried about the parliament's future.

Will the Bundestag develop into a working parliament which, as it has done so far, deals with the minute details of political issues and discusses draft bills which are basically no more than a "notarial execution of the proposals of the executive"?

Or is there a trend towards a discussion forum?

Jenninger is convinced that the Bundestag cannot assume both functions at once.

The idea of a discussion forum, which does away with long-winded speeches, lets the detailed legislative work be carried out in special committees and concentrates on committed debate on fundamental political issues, does have its appeal.

The decision to build the Bundestag's new plenary hall as a round-shaped building would undoubtedly be good for such a forum.

Jenninger was particularly involved in this question.

He seemed unable to accept the feeling that the Bundestag could make itself seem ridiculous via its fickleness on this issue.

He did not shy away from a conflict with Deputy Speaker Richard Stücklen and assumed personal responsiblity for the construction question.

The decision has now been taken, and it should be pointed out that Jenninger was always known to prefer the clearly progressive round-shaped solution for the new plenary hall.

In the end, however, he voted for the traditional form, apparently fearing that he would otherwise be left out on a limb.

Sten Martenson

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 2 August 1987)

■ PERSPECTIVE

German, American journalists discuss why the twain doesn't meet

An American journalist says that if newspapers are to survive, they must stay economically sound. This could only be achieved by being first with the news.

The journalist was addressing a meeting of American and German journalists in Deidesheim, between Ludwigshafen and Kaiserslautern.

He said that this meant there was no room for sentiment: first with the news meant first with the hard news.

He said that in Germany, the idea of ethics was often quoted. But he suggested that in practice, this noble quality was often ignored.

He asked if German journalism could be judged by the standards it set itself. Was it, he asked, better, more exact, more independent and more honest than American journalism?

He spoke in a hushed silence not so much because of the words he used but because of how he spoke.

He was speaking at the third Gutenberg Meeting. These meetings are designed to examine the Press on both sides of the Atlantic and to ask why journalists cannot find common yardsticks to work to.

They seek at least to establish how differences arise in newsgathering methods and how information is perceived and processed.

The first meeting was held in Deidesheim three years ago, the second last year in Boston. This year journalists from both sides of the Atlantic met in Deidesheim again.

In both countries, the United States and Germany, freedom of communication is constitutionally guaranteed on the basis of identical historical roots.

Yet there are many difficulties in coming to terms on journalistic principles. How far, for instance, does freedom of opinion and freedom of access to information extend?

Senator Gary Hart may not like what journalists get up to, but this personal distaste did not help him: the Press ran stories which implied that his sex habits were not beyond reproach — and he had to quit as a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

A German illustrated weekly has spent a fortune making sure it gets exclusive rights to non-official news (that is from the private people involved) in the case of Matthias Rust, the German teenager who landed a Cessna aircraft on Red Square.

Where, as an American reporter recently asked, does that leave the principles of freedom of information? Where are they laid down and who follows them?

Politicians, communications experts and journalists know too little about each other. The differences between American and German views on freedom of information are due to tradition. Broadcasting is not a public service in the United States.

In 1979 US journalists were amazed to hear, at the Berlin radio show, German politicians outlining details of the first cable TV pilot projects involving commercial operators.

"Do you mean to say there have been no commercial operators in the past?" they said. "Then your radio and TV are state-run."

"No, they aren't," they were told, "they are self-governing corporations." — "But politicians are members of their governing bodies!"

Thomas Wheeler, president of the US National Cable Television Association, agreed with Claus Detjen, head of new media at the German Newspaper Proprietors Association, to hold talks.

Experiences were regularly to be exchanged, views outlined, differences of opinion spotlighted and consideration given to what, other than the Atlantic, separates America from Germany.

The name chosen for these discussions, the Gutenberg Meeting, built a linguistic bridge inasmuch as it is identical in English and German.

It also established a link between the printer's art of old and the new electronic media.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s newspaper men in large numbers flew from Frankfurt to New York, Washington, Philadephia and Los Angeles to see new radio and TV technologies in action.

They also took a closer look at revolutionary new newspaper production techniques and sought advice in the United States, where microelectronics was most advanced in practical application. These fact-finding tours forged close personal links between publishers, journalists and politicians; they were unable to eliminate serious differences of opinion.

In return, US executives began to show keener interest in Germany. Europe rates at best a single mention in US newspapers, and then maybe on page 17.

But oddly enough a growing number of Americans have lately become more aware of the Old World even though this reawakening interest may not yet be reflected on the printed page.

Last year's Gutenberg Meeting was held at the Castle, a historic Boston University building on the banks of the Charles River.

The debate on media portrayal of Germany in America and vice-versa reached its height when a US journalist contrasted ethics and economics in connection with the fact that US Press coverage of Europe was negligible whereas European coverage of America was disproportionately extensive — and usually negative.

Economic considerations, he felt, were so self-evident that mistrust was unwarranted. He failed to see how the self-regulative potential of an economic process could possibly be viewed with scepticism in the Federal Republic.

Ethics and journalism, in contrast, was a topic for discussion by people whose knowledge of journalism was derived from books rather than from practice.

On this point many German journalists would probably agree.

This year a main topic of the Deidesheim debate was the legal and technical obstructions that beset satellite communications.

Ulrich Schulze

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 24 June 1987)

Press 'clouding issues by use of too many euphemisms'

Issues in the Press tended to become clouded because the German Press used too many euphemisms, a communications expert told the 28th meeting of Franco-German publicists in Clermont-Ferrand.

Professor Hans Wagner, of Munich, said terms like termination of pregnancy instead of abortion and artificial insemination rather than human experiments were used.

Seventy Roman Catholic journalists from France and Germany were at the meeting, in the Auvergne, to exchange views on the subject of Taboos in the Media.

A French editor said he was unable to understand what Professor Wagner was getting at. Professor Wagner had been asked to draw up a paper on Taboos in the Media and he dealt with it in a manner to be expected of a German academic, theoretically and firmly convinced he was right. *Wissenschaft* (science, or academic expertise) *über alles?*

Right he was in seeing taboos as "negatively formulated norms" that led to certain topics not being mentioned in name or being dealt with onesidedly.

Professor Wagner mentioned abortion, artificial insemination and Aids as examples of issues where important information was not published even in leading and highly respected newspapers.

Scientific knowledge about stages of an embryo's development or serious mental anguish by women who had abortions was brushed aside.

Euphemisms were used, such as termination of pregnancy rather than abortion, artificial insemination rather than human experiments, thus clouding the real issues.

The Aids debate similarly tended to ignore to promiscuity as a part of the problem.

"Research findings" such as these, banal and contradictory, failed to make a meaningful contribution toward Franco-German dialogue.

A working journalist's life is led in a world way distant from the ivory towers of Academe. It cannot be extricated from the pitfalls of subjectivity and bias.

That is surely a fact of life Roman Catholic journalists in particular must be aware of. It would have been more promising to probe journalists' own taboos in Franco-German dialogue, but journalists tend to be reticent about them.

Much though they may like to see themselves as taboo-breakers, they keep themselves very much taboo.

In the final analysis anything and everything — or, indeed, nothing — can be taboo. The topic was poorly chosen.

Noel Copin, editor of the Catholic daily *La Croix*, outlined maxims based on practical and objective experience.

Catholic journalists, he said, should be guided by the same criteria as others who feel committed to the truth in selecting and dealing with topics.

Love of one's fellow-man was a further yardstick, as was respect for what was sacrosanct to others.

Little is left of the taboo syndrome when the individual allows himself to be guided by humanity and goes about his work as a journalist with a modicum of honesty.

International gatherings cannot be assessed in terms of their intellectual results, and Franco-German encounters are no exception. The overriding atmosphere was one of hospitality.

The local hosts, such as the leading daily *La Montagne* and the association of Catholic weeklies in the Rhône-Alpes and Auvergne region, testified to a sense of international friendship and community based on personal encounter.

So, in particular, did Jean-Marie Brunot of Bayard, the leading Catholic publishing house in Paris, the newly-elected president of the International Catholic Press Union and spokesman for his French colleagues.

Hubert Schöne as president of the Association of Catholic Publicists said the next gathering would be held in June 1988 in Ottobeuren, Bavaria.

Much has been gained from international Press gatherings when journalists feel more clearly aware of where they stand after having been measured by others' yardsticks, bearing in mind that other languages are bound to remain "foreign" in their full splendour.

For journalists, as for Christians, provincialism is a constant danger. In France the Catholic Church has nowhere near as much cash as its German counterpart; German Catholics pay a church tax that is levied as a percentage of income tax and deducted at source.

But that doesn't make the French Church any the poorer in spirituality. God leads a different life in France, and much can be learnt from one's neighbour in respect of one's own beliefs.

That applies in equal measure to the sector the French have come to label as German "neutro-nationalism." This point was illustrated in a short but striking interview with Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

M. Giscard, a European-minded politician who was French head of state from 1974 to 1981, has now returned to "local" politics as chairman of the Auvergne regional council.

If German reunification on the basis of neutrality were to gain ground as a political objective, the life's work of a Konrad Adenauer — and a Giscard d'Estaing — would be destroyed, French speakers made it clear.

Germans in particular can learn from such international gatherings what it is to refer to Europe yet to mean *Heimat*, or one's own country.

They were well able to do so in Clermont-Ferrand, capital of the Auvergne, which has a city-centre square dominated by an equestrian statue of Vercingetorix, who defended Gaul against Caesar.

Hermann Boventer

(Das Parlament, Bonn, 18 July 1987)

■ FINANCE

Queues get longer in bid for Japanese investment

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

German industrial development executives think they have struck a rich seam in potential Japanese investors.

Development officials all over the country are rushing to persuade Japanese firms to invest — and give problem areas a boost.

Incentives include low-cost factory sites, subsidies totalling up to 40 per cent of the sum invested and generous housing arrangements for executives and their families.

In the Rhine and Ruhr regions, hard hit by coal and steel crises, over 10,000 Germans are already on the payroll of Japanese companies.

In the past, Japanese trading firms have mainly established bridgeheads in Germany, but there is now a growing tendency among Japanese companies to set up production facilities of their own in Germany.

At the Düsseldorf office of Arthur Anderson & Co., the accountants and management consultants, over 40 Japanese clients have already logged over 14,000 hours of consultation fees this year.

Gerd Fröhlich, in charge of Japanese location at the North-Rhine-Westphalian industrial development agency in Düsseldorf, is keen to step up the pace and lead the field.

Consultants have even been commissioned to persuade Asian investors to relocate within the Federal Republic.

A few months ago Herr Fröhlich's agency persuaded Mitsubishi Hartmetall GmbH to move from Waiblingen, near Stuttgart, to the outskirts of Düsseldorf.

Poachers also report success in Hamburg, where Dainippon Screen Deutschland GmbH are to transfer their marketing head office to Düsseldorf later this year.

So there is no shortage of spectacular success stories in creating new jobs with Japanese assistance in North Rhine-Westphalia.

By 1990 Toshiba Consumer Products (Germany) GmbH are expected to employ about 800 German staff at their newly-opened Mönchengladbach assembly plant.

Hundreds of thousands of video cassette recorders, colour TV sets and hifi systems destined for European markets are to roll off the plant's highly-automated assembly lines.

Fuji Magnetic GmbH, to take another example, are to spend a handsome DM100m converting an empty German factory in Kleve into a videotape production facility, creating an estimated 200 new jobs.

Develop Dr. Eisbein GmbH & Co., a small German photocopier manufacturer, is yet another example of what a godsend financial inputs from the Far East can be.

Last year Minolta Camera, of Ahrensburg, near Hamburg, bought a 75-per-cent stake in the company, which was arguably on its last legs.

Minolta has since replenished it with technical know-how and orders to keep the plant running and safeguard the company's 350 jobs.

This tale, taken from Baden-Württemberg in the south-west, is one that will hopefully set an example. Economic development officials in Baden-Württemberg untiringly stress how smooth and successful the operation has been, speculating that the Japanese might consider taking over other shaky firms.

This hope is not unfounded. Last year Japanese direct investment in the Federal Republic reached a record DM1.3bn that seems sure to be well exceeded this year and in the years ahead.

"Our capital investment in Germany and Europe is going to increase enormously," says a senior official of the Ministry of International Trade and Industry in Tokyo.

As if further examples were needed Minami, the Japanese leisure company, has just bought Schloss Gymnich, the moated castle near Bonn that the Federal government has used as a guest house for state visitors for some years, for DM60m.

The plan is to convert it into a noble leisure centre for hard-worked company executives and politicians — not just Japanese.

Even Volkswagen are benefiting from the Japanese invasion and will be manufacturing Toyota vans in Wolfsburg from the year after next as part of closer cooperation with the Japanese carmaker.

Not for nothing has Japanese industry decided to concentrate on the Federal Republic as an industrial location in Europe.

For one, Tokyo hopes the Germans, who are economic liberals, will help them to fend off protectionist moves and anti-dumping levies imposed by the European Commission.

For another, rich Japanese investors have come to realise that although wage costs are fairly high in the Federal Republic the benefits of political stability, high productivity and a labour force reluctant to strike are not to be sneezed at.

Japan's enormous surplus in trade with Germany, the meteoric rise of the yen exchange rate and the ground Japan still has to make good in foreign investment between them force the pace still further.

German industry has 23 per cent of its manufactured goods made (or partially made) abroad; the corresponding figure for Japanese firms is a paltry three per cent.

In the past the United States has been the main beneficiary, accounting for 40 per cent of Japanese exports, making it Toyko's most important export market by far.

But anti-Japanese sentiment is gaining ground at an alarming rate in North America, where skies are overcast not only in connection with prohibited Japanese high-tech exports to the Soviet Union but also by fears of America being exposed to too power a Japanese economic influence.

America may one day wake up, writes *Business Week*, and find key industries are no longer under US control.

In Europe and the Federal Republic fears of this kind have yet to gain currency. Politicians and economic development officials are only too keen to pave the way for Japanese investment.

Economic Affairs Minister Martin Herzog of Baden-Württemberg, for instance, says there is no reason whatever "to discriminate against Japanese capital in the Federal Republic."

Baden-Württemberg plans to set up in a Japanese industrial park to pave the way for smaller, high-tech firms from the Far East.

It will include a Japanese restaurant and a Japanese school as special incentives.

That forces other *Länder*, especially North Rhine-Westphalia, not to fall behind.

Nine permanent representative offices of German *Länder* in Japan are constantly on the lookout for potential investors to give regional development a shot in the arm.

The Japanese skilfully play one off against the other, negotiating [illegible] possible terms.

North Rhine-Westphalia already has a well-developed Japanese infrastructure and generous subsidies. Baden-Württemberg has to think of something else to offer.

Industrial development areas are few and far between in the south-west, so Baden-Württemberg sells its high tech and impressive economic potential for all it is worth.

When he tours Japan Herr Herzog has no qualms about taking executives of Japanese companies in Baden-Württemberg, such as Sony and Citizen, with him.

They outline everything in bright colours. Germans work hard and well, and Swabian food — especially *Spätzle*, or noodles — is excellent!

August Räubinger
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 14 July 1987)

German firm in deal with Soviet toolmaker

Bremer Nachrichten

The first commercial Soviet-West German joint venture has been set up. The firms are Heinemann, a mechanical engineering and plant construction company in St Georgen in the Black Forest, and the Ordzhonikidze Machine Tool Works in Moscow.

(There have been other joint deals, but they have been one-off ventures such as gas pipeline projects.)

The Soviet firm's managing director, Chikiryov, is quoted as taking a highly political view of the venture, which is called Homatek. He says it will help his company to implement the party's call for better product quality.

Homatek, with a projected payroll of 500 in the Soviet Union and 100 in the Black Forest, plans to market machine tools — turning centres and transfer lines — mainly in third countries for convertible currency.

Managing director Reiner Lang of Heinemann says one third of production is to be exported and the remainder used to fit out Soviet factories.

Joint ventures with Soviet companies have been promoted by politicians but only reluctantly accepted by Western industry for lack of detailed arrangements and guarantees.

[illegible] the Soviet partner in the venture must hold a majority shareholding. Herr Lang, who is experienced in trade with the East, seems unperturbed on this point.

His input into the joint venture consists, according to the *Pravda* report, of cash, automatic project equipment, calculators, copiers and the know-how of his newly-developed Heidi machine tool range.

Ordzhonikidze is providing a 25,000-square-metre (nearly seven-acre) site for rent at its Moscow works, plus buildings, housing and other equipment. The Soviet parent company is also investing an unspecified sum in cash.

The parent companies differ considerably in size. Heinemann GmbH is the successor to an *Aktiengesellschaft*, a public company, where Herr Lang, now 47, was appointed general manager by the receiver in 1980.

Under his management the company has risen like a phoenix from the ashes. He bought the firm for DM16m and nursed it back into the black. Last year its staff of 180 totalled DM60m in turnover.

Herr Lang has long catered for the Soviet market and evidently been well satisfied with cooperation arrangements.

Ordzhonikidze, named after a Georgian revolutionary and contemporary of Stalin's, was set up in 1929 in accordance with a Party conference decision and is one of the largest mechanical engineering groups in the Soviet Union.

Chikiryov told *Pravda* he feels the venture will make profits soon, and that they will increase.

Other sources state that in five years' time Homatek hopes to be manufacturing 160 machine tools a year.

Hans-Joachim Deckert
(Bremer Nachrichten, 20 July 1987)

Listen, me old China, I know just where to put your money

German banks are taking a big interest in China. Four leading bank were represented in Chancellor Kohl's trade delegation there last month.

One reason is that China is slowly emerging as a highly rated sovereign debtor. Another is that the pace of economic relations have been slowing and a special effort is needed to spur it on a bit.

The chief executive of Dresdner Bank, Wolfgang Röller, who was in the party, says China is a treble-A credit risk — with no reservations.

Martin Kohlhaussen, Commerzbank director in charge of Asian business and another member of Chancellor Kohl's party, said China was a first-rate address in financial business and a country with fine business potential.

Yet no-one knows how deep in debt China's economic reformers are. Depending on the estimated level of Chinese gold reserves, the total varies on either side of $20bn.

All that can be said for sure is that much of the loans given have been low-interest capital aid, one of the main means by which the Japanese have gained their ascendancy in Asia.

The Chinese are also known to be adept at playing off international competitors and able to negotiate fa-

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■ BANKING

A financial giant is forced to broaden its horizons

The change of leadership at Daimler-Benz last month was strongly influenced by Herr Alfred Herrhausen, who is a member of the managing board of Deutsche Bank. Deutsche Bank owns 28 per cent of Daimler-Benz. It has direct stakes in many other large German companies and members of its board sit on the supervisory boards of many other companies. Deutsche Bank's assets of 1.10 billion American dollars make it the 14th biggest bank in the world. Its estimated operating profit last year of 5 billion marks was more than the combined figure of Germany's other two big trading banks, Dresdner and Commerzbank (2.3 billion marks.) Deutsche has 6.6 million customers with 50,000 employees. It has 1,410 branches, 65 outside Germany. Deutsche Bank was founded in 1870 to finance industrial expansion and financial trade. It lost its assets after the Second World War but was re-established in 1957. It has now extensive commercial and investment banking interests in many parts of the world. Last year it bought Banca d'America e Italia, one of Italy's biggest banks. It has branches in 12 Asian countries through Deutsche Bank (Asia), formerly Eurasbank. In this article for *Rheinischer Merkur/ Christ und Welt*, Paul Bellinghausen looks at Germany's banking giant.

It is no exaggeration to say that Alfred Herrhausen, the man behind the change over at Daimler-Benz, is one of the most powerful and influential men in West German industry.

Like his colleague, Friedrich Wilhelm Christians, the other managing board "spokesman" at Deutsche Bank, he is internally an integrator and externally a representative.

Deutsche Bank's management board does not have a chief executive but follows the principle of collective leadership with two board members, in the bank's case, appointed as "spokesmen."

Herrhausen brings these integrator and representational qualities to his chairmanship of the Daimler-Benz supervisory board, West Germany's biggest company in terms of sales.

For Herrhausen the change of management in Stuttgart is certainly not a case like any other. It was a nerve-wracking business toppling a top manager.

He will take consolation from the thought that, with hindsight, he did what was best for the group and its workers.

To this can be added that he is fascinated in getting things moving, arranging things.

Herrhausen became a banker by accident. Indeed it was not on the cards that he should have a career in industry at all. It was not included in his career plans for Herrhausen does not place much value on such plans. He believes that in the main things turn out differently to the way one thinks they will.

He gives considerable emphasis to working systematically and in a planned manner. He also welcomes plenty of work.

Herrhausen was born in Essen in 1930. During the war he attended a state school. Early on he showed a bent for philosophy — the influence of a Catholic priest gave him a taste for speculation about existence and obligation.

He would have liked to have studied philosophy in Cologne, but after the war there was no place for him. He had to be content with being able to study economics there.

He must have been very industrious. By 22 he had a degree in commerce, of the "Cologne School," which at the time had a considerable reputation in West Germany. On the side he did a doctorate under Professor Theodor Wessels.

The foundations for his career were laid. After a short interlude with Ruhrgas Herrhausen found a job with Vereinigte Elektrizitätswerke (VEW) in Dortmund. He had his first taste of banking during a year he spent in New York.

However, he had nothing to do with the partial privatisation of VEW. He was then lucky. His industry and abilities got him on the VEW board of management at the age of 37.

Obviously not entirely fulfilled with the job he introduced budding trades union officials into industry's secrets at the Dortmund Social Affairs Academy.

Herrhausen then came to the attention of Friedrich Wilhelm Christians of the Deutsche Bank, then a member of the VEW supervisory board. Christians lured him from VEW to the Deutsche Bank, where he was with extraordinary speed appointed to be a member of the board of management.

Christians had obviously made a wise choice. Herrhausen had to jump in at the deep end. Two companies in which Deutsche Bank were involved, the Stollwerck chocolate manufacturers in Cologne and the Continental Gummi-Werke in Hanover, were in serious trouble.

With patience and considerable doggedness Herrhausen was able to get both companies out of trouble and make them again viable.

His flair attracted attention in Bonn. The federal government appointed him to be one of the three moderators who were charged with developing a new concept for the West German steel industry.

But his good advice quickly disappeared through the political trap-door, much to Herrhausen's chagrin. He said that Bonn had let a good opportunity slip by.

More fascinating than the task of trying to provide the West German steel industry with a new structure was the task given him in the middle of the 1970s by the Finance Minister. He was appointed to the Bank Commission.

This did not only involve the question of the banks' power and their controls. In this job Herrhausen was in his element.

The question of power did not revolve round the fact that the three big banks, Deutsche, Dresdner and Commerzbank, dominated the credits and deposits market and so could dictate conditions. Their position here was not so strong as it had been supposed.

The total market share of the three in deposits and credits business was less than 10 per cent.

As seen by critics of a do-everything bank, the power is based much more in the concentration of credit business, equity holdings, proxy voting powers in *Aktiengesellschaften*, companies with limited liability and quoted shares, and the appointment of bank executives to supervisory boards. This gave the banks the chance of moulding and influencing industry, effectively evading controls.

It was just this point that do-everything bankers in general disputed, and Herrhausen in particular and energetically.

Herrhausen's influence was discernible in the main section of the Deutsche Bank's 1986 annual report. It was disputed that the banks were powerful and could not be controlled.

The passage read: "It cannot be ascertained that the banks have a too great influence and potential for moulding events. The power structure in our democratic society is not put out of balance by the banks. Critics have not produced evidence to the contrary." There has been dispute as to whether evidence was or was not produced. The Monopolies Commission took a different view.


The king-maker . . . Alfred Herrhausen with bank logo. (Photo: J.H. Darchinger)

One has to prick up one's ears when a prudent and experienced man such as State Secretary Otto Schlecht of the Economic Affairs Ministry is concerned whether the banks could have acquire for themselves power that economically and socially is questionable.

Herrhausen is certain that competition in the banking industry takes care of that, preventing the misuse of power. He said that competition was the most important and effective corrective and in West German banking competition was tough.

That alone did not alter the fact that the major banks, through the concentration in their hands of mandates on supervisory boards, had access to a wealth of information and contacts that were worth a lot of money.

According to the Association of German giro and savings banks this concentration can bring about a conflict of interests and to a distortion of competitive positions.

This tendency is accentuated when these banks have a major market share in the issuance of new shares which, because they manage consortia, are sold to their own customers.

This again increases the volume of their proxy voting rights.

Should this go to the Monopolies Commission the banks would have to reduce their participation in non-banking companies to five per cent.

To give some idea of what this involves: the Deutsche Bank has a partici-

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■ COMMODITIES

Radicchios and raspberries at the crack of dawn

DIE WELT

More than a million tons of fruit and vegetables, valued at DM1.5bn, were handled in Munich's Central Market last year.

This was 14 per cent up on the previous year's figure, despite Chernobyl.

Everything that is cultivated in hothouses all over the world finds its way to "the belly of Munich," the largest German fruit and vegetable market, in Europe second in size to Paris.

The Central Market has just celebrated its 75th anniversary.

Radicchio from Italy, a type of red lettuce, is piled up by peaches from Greece. Behind them are a few hundredweight of tomatoes from Holland, a little pale but firm and round. To the right there are violet aubergines.

It is Monday morning in Shed 4 of Munich's Central Market. There is traffic chaos, but no announcement of it is given in the traffic news on the radio.

Eventually the chaos is disentangled and the peaches make way for the red lettuces and the bright tomatoes.

Most of the trucks loaded with these fruits and vegetables have come from Italy and Greece. A few hours after calling at Munich the trucks roll on to Rosenheim or Frankfurt, Hanover or Hamburg or even London.

One dealer said that the whole of Europe buys fruit and vegetables in Munich, including the good citizens of Munich itself, of course.

The city is still sleeping on this Monday morning. Despite the short summer night it will be a few hours before the sun rises behind the famous towers of Munich's Frauenkirche.

The sheds in Munich's Central Market are already wide awake. Helmut Pfundstein, boss of the market, said: "By half past four, when the gateways open, all hell is let loose."

Juicy strawberries, stacked high in pallets, give off a sweet aroma that balances the pungent smell of radishes.

There are chanterelles, wickedly expensive from Poland, paprika from Hungary, the first raspberries from Italy and cauliflowers from Holland. It all smells fresh and healthy.

The visitor breathes in deeply and for a moment cannot understand what is going on that is so irritating. There is no diesel smell in the shed where fruit and vegetables are mechanically weighed.

Pfundstein said: "A couple of years ago Shed 4 was full of diesel fumes from the trucks."

Trucks would still be driven into the sheds if Munich's SPD mayor Georg Kronawitter, during his first period in office, had not had a head of his secretariat by the name of Pfundstein.

Pfundstein performed the same duties under the CSU mayor Erich Kiesl, that rankled with Kronawitter.

But before Kronawitter again took over Munich's Town Hall three years ago, Pfundstein moved over quickly to vegetables. He had learned all about knuckling down to work in the mayor's office in the Town Hall.

He dared to do the strong-man act which none of his predecessors had dared and pushed through regulations, against considerable opposition, ruling that only electrically-powered forklift trucks with green number plates could be used in the market sheds.

The only exceptions were a few brand-new diesel forklifts, but they can only be used for a very limited period and this is marked on their yellow number plates.

There were only 1,300 cars in Munich 75 years ago when, on a spring morning, the city's new fruit and vegetable market was opened with cheers for the Prince-regent, Luitpold.

The legacy of this was that most of the transportation used in the market was ecologically non-polluting. There was horse dung here and there, lying next to rosy red apples.

There had been a lot of tough infighting before the opening of the market 75 years ago. In 1883 Berlin had begun building a fruit and vegetable market. Munich, then a royal capital, did not want to take second place, but the battle over a suitable site and the basic question of whether such a market was necessary lasted over ten years.

A popular argument of the time said that radishes and cabbages could be unloaded from horse-drawn wagons into the Schrannenhalle that then stood directly next to the Viktualienmarkt in the centre of the city.



A leaf from the cabbages of the past . . . Munich's Central Market in the 1920s.
(Photo: Claus Hampel)

The Schrannenhalle were pulled down a long time ago, but the present Central Market is doing very well which can only be said of a few communal operations.

A profit of DM300,000 has been shown. Now pessimists seem to have been proven right. Four connecting sheds have been built south-west of the city at a cost of DM6.8m, but in the first year of operations a loss of DM160,000 was recorded.

Money is today no longer a problem. The city has allocated to Helmut Pfundstein DM50m so that the former area of 37,000 square metres, that has now been extended to 31 hectares, can be renovated and improved.

It is another matter that is causing problems. Just like Munich's famous Theresienwiese, location of the October Beer Festival, that used to be some distance from the city itself, the Central Market has been engulfed by houses as the city has spread.

Many citizens living near the Central Market complain that their sleep is disturbed by the 6,000 trucks and trailers that make their way to it, many before dawn.

In the 1950s two out of every five kilos of fruit and vegetables were brought to the Central Market by rail, only about a third by road. Now the figures have been reversed.

To reconcile those citizens living close to the market a 54-metre long underpass was opened a few days ago passing under the rail line, so that lorries and refrigerated trucks did not disturb the nearby residential area.

Pfundstein is a Munich man through and through and can trace his ancestry back to 1742. During this 75th anniversary he has given a great deal of thought to the point and purpose of the Central Market.

He said that his task was to make it possible to supply the population at favourable prices and with the best quality possible while at the same time creating conditions so that medium-sized businesses can be supported and developed.

The second point seemed to him to be important because more and more chains of retail stores were importing directly, bypassing the Central Market.

But this trend does not seem to have disturbed the activities of the Central Market all that much, for it continues to be overcrowded to a considerable extent.

There are dozens of small businesses that strive in vain for a new stand in the Central Market and just as many want to extend the space they already have.

The best of Munich's restaurants – and they are well known for being the best in Germany – get supplies of tender Kenya beans and exotic Chinese fruits from the Central Market.

There is a continuous stream of transporters from gourmet restaurants arriving at the market for fruit and vegetables.

Eckart Witzigmann, the "three-star general" from the aubergine cuisine, buys from Pfundstein's market. More accurately put he buys through his stand in the Viktualienmarkt. He puts in his orders for vegetables the day before.

This has two major advantages for the most famous of West Germany's cooks. He can stay in bed longer in the morning and water the mouths of his customers by saying that he buys from the Viktualienmarkt, which sounds that much better than saying that he gets his kiwi fruit from the Central Market.

When the day's work is done one can eat at the *Gaststätte am Großmarkt* very well. It opens at seven in the evening and is said to serve the best white sausage in the city.

Many a Munich restaurateur buys in the Cental Market. Restaurants close to the central market have another advantage as well. The Munich abattoir is close by.

Peter Schmalz
(Die Welt, Bonn, 7 July 1987)

Deutsche Bank

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pation in 15 non-banking operations with an equity share of 25 per cent or more, in Daimler-Benz a good 28 per cent, in Holzmann about 35 per cent, in Karstadt about 25 per cent and indirectly in Hutschenreuther more than 25 per cent.

It is certainly not false to assume that nothing will come of the Monopolies Commission's proposals. Alfred Herrhausen is a friend and close adviser of Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Paul Bellinghausen
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 24 July 1987)

Continued from page 6

vourable credit terms. What delights lenders need not thrill investors or exporters. As debts have increased, Peking has scrapped investment projects and axed imports for lack of foreign exchange.

China has good reason to slam on the anchors on trade with Germany. Last year and the year before, Peking imported German goods worth DM3.9bn and DM3.5bn more than its exports to the Federal Republic.

The gap is narrowing in 1987, but only slowly. Planners in Peking are also unhappy at the low German level of foreign investment in China, including a mere 19 out of 3,000 joint ventures.

German banks mainly have progress in trade and industrial projects in mind, since they serve German customers who do business with China.

Commerzbank was the first of the Federal Republic's "Big Three" to provide correspondent services back in 1951, a mere two years after Mao Tse-tung had come to power.

Herr Kohlhaussen says his bank accounts for well over 20 per cent of German trade with China. Dresdner Bank sees itself as the No. 2 in trade with China, with a joint leasing subsidiary, Culc.

When China opened up to the West it also invited leading German banks to set up representative offices in Peking. Deutsche Bank was the first to do so, in 1981.

The last (but biggest) of the Big Three, it has been followed by Westdeutsche Landesbank and Bayerische Vereinsbank.

Roughly 120 Western banks are represented in the Chinese capital, where economic reformers have sent the winds of change blowing round Chinese banks.

While the Bank of China looks after foreign business, the People's Bank of China has been raised to central bank status, with a woman governor.

Nine special banks have been established or revitalised. Chinese bankers are increasingly keen to gain experience abroad, as indicated by 310 Bank of China branches all over the world.

One of the most recent, opened last May, was in Frankfurt am Main.

dpa/vwd
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 21 July 1987)

■ ENERGY

Debate over electricity as supplier monopoly comes under threat



The monopoly that German power suppliers have had since 1935 might be coming to an end.

It is likely that European Community provisions will extend competition from 1992 to places that don't know the meaning of the word.

The power utilities will find more is at stake than just the loss of their captive markets.

In the 1990s many agreements on the exclusive supply of electric power to cities and local authorities are due to expire. A number of councils fancy the idea of running their own power supplies again.

So the utilities are caught in a cleft stick, with European Community law on the one hand (which overrules German law) and a power surplus on the other, prompting a free-for-all for markets.

German suppliers pose the seemingly banal question whether electric power is a product or a service. This may seem pointless but it could have a bearing on the competition debate within the European Community.

Günther Klätte, a director of Rheinisch-Westfälisches Elektrizitätswerk (RWE), the leading German power utility, says electric power, viewed in technical and physical terms, is neither a product nor a service; any comparison with goods or service facilities is bound to lead to false conclusions.

The Industrial Utilities' Association (VIK) argues, in contrast, that German law has always treated power supply agreements as bills of sale and electric power as a commodity:

"At all events electric power is subject to the flow of goods and commercial services like any other traded product."

Axel Lippert, who is keenly aware of the problems faced by his own company, Bayer Chemicals, which is a major consumer, says:

"Insulating individual countries or pursuing energy policies in the face of the Common Market is to the power consumer's disadvantage.

"It has a detrimental effect on the competitive position of industries that are heavy power consumers and thus hampers the economy."

This year, he says, several hundred megawatts will be lost because basic industrial firms are relocating on account of the cost of electric power.

"Many utilities in North Rhine-Westphalia," he says, "will need to reconsider their pricing policies if they want to hold their own in competition."

RWE's Klätte argues that "free competition in power supply (will) mean the end of existing certainty that supplies will be available."

Foreign competitors would only serve interesting, i.e. lucrative customers, leaving the local supplier to plug the gaps.

This worry is not unwarranted. France, the uncrowned champion of Europe in generating atomic energy, has serious surplus capacity.

Last year Electricité de France (EdF) exported 33 billion kilowatt-hours; in the 1990s French exports are to be boosted to 70 billion kilowatts, or about one fifth of total German consumption last year.

Many observers feel EdF's prices are almost unbeatable, which is hardly surprising. The French state power corporation pays no dividends, no tax on profits and, unlike German utilities, no levies of one kind or another.

Besides, French nuclear power stations are mass-produced and subject to simplified permit procedures, with the result that they cost one third less to build than nuclear power stations in the Federal Republic.

As a result, atomic energy can be generated at a price that makes German utility executives' hair stand on end.

Against this background German industry is unimpressed by RWE's argument that supplies might not be ensured in the event of free competition and deregulation.

"Large-scale industrial consumers," says Bayer's Lippert, "hope the rules of free competition will apply to the power industry, which would mean the end of rigid demarcation agreements."

Underpinning his demand for more competition in the power industry, he refers to the existing grid network:

"The grid capacity of transnational high-tension cables is currently 24,700 megawatts, or roughly 30 per cent of the total installed capacity of public-sector power stations in the Federal Republic of Germany."

Gunter Hirschfelder, head of Veba's Ruhr power stations division, feels the German coal industry will be hard hit.

Minimal

"Power imported from France," he says, "will always be to the immediate detriment of domestic coal. So imports will call long-term agreements (between the German coal and power industries) into question."

Here too the industrial viewpoint differs. "That depends," says a VIK spokesman, "on the sector in which electric power is imported.

"It is likely to mainly supply power-intensive industrial plant that has so far been supplied by brown coal-fired or nuclear power stations."

The Federal Monopolies Commission in Berlin has called a halt to the wilder ramifications of the debate.

Its Kurt Markert says: "It is inconceivable that the existing system of exclusive supply areas in force in all European Community countries must be entirely abandoned solely for reasons of Community law."

Leonhard Spielhofer
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 25 July 1987)

Coal industry blames Bonn for uncertainty

Hannoversche Allgemeine

The Bonn government is being urged to make a clear statement on what it sees is the future for the German coal industry.

Rumours are circulating that the Economic Affairs Ministry is thinking of allowing long-term agreements with power utilities to expire in the mid-1990s and running coal production down by well over a third to about 30 million tonnes a year.

The chief executive of Ruhrkohle, Heinz Horn, who is also head of the German Coalmining Association, said the reports had caused serious anxiety in the Ruhr and other coalfields.

If the Ministry follows its plans to axe subsidies for coal exported to other European Community countries, the current production surplus — six million tonnes a year — will more than double.

Last year coal stacked at the pithead totalled 9.8 million tonnes. Stockpiles are due to increase to at least 11.7 million tonnes by the end of this year despite at least 19, and probably 21, shifts that are not to be worked in 1987.

Ruhrkohle sales were down 9.2 per cent last year to 55 million tonnes and are expected to decline to 51 million this year.

Lower sales to steelworks are mainly to blame. As a shift that is not worked costs Ruhrkohle roughly DM20m, this particular alternative to short-time working will cost the corporation at least DM400m this year.

Lower earnings as a result of lower coal prices in world markets weigh even more heavily, prices having plummeted in the wake of the decline of the dollar and of oil prices.

The world market price for coking coal (which is the price German steelmakers pay for what they contract to buy) is currently DM150 per tonne lower than Ruhrkohle's price.

Ruhrkohle is paid DM100 per tonne in compensation but is still DM50 a tonne out of pocket, or roughly DM1bn in the red in respect of sales totalling 20 million tonnes.

Yet Herr Horn felt confident financial arrangements could be reached with Bonn in this connection.

Last year Ruhrkohle was DM220m in the red, written down to DM10m by writing off reserves, as in the past. But the losses that are likely to mount up this year will soon exhaust such reserves as are left.

Yet Ruhrkohle is not expecting to have to call in the receiver, to sell holdings or to ask its major shareholders, who include Veba and VEW, to chip in more capital.

The payroll was down 1,400 to 112,569 at the end of last year, will decline by a further 4,700 this year and is likely to total roughly 100,000 by the end of next year.

Two pits, Zollverein in Essen and Minister Stein in Dortmund, have already been closed this year. Three cokeries have also been (or are due to be) shut down.

Herr Horn says further pit closures will depend entirely on the Bonn government's coal policy.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 July 1987)

■ PHILOSOPHY

Clarity of expression plus a dose of common sense upsets the academics

The writer, Eberhard Döring, is the author of Karl R. Popper. Einführung in Leben und Werk, published by Hoffmann und Campe Verlag, Hamburg 1987, DM26.

Viennese-born epistemologist (epistemology is the theory of knowledge) and philosopher Karl R. Popper, 85, has created controversy in nearly all disciplines and schools of thought.

To this day he meets with an enormous response from almost all sectors of politics interested in maintaining democracy in an "open society."

So it is no exaggeration to see in him the philosopher who has most comprehensively influenced the 20th century.

Because of the width of his influence, controversial was probably only to be expected.

Academic philosophers in particular see his views as somewhat naive, which is hardly surprising since he is strongly guided by common sense, as all his theorems show.

This orientation is what has made him so well-known. Even his opponents can hardly deny that he writes in such an easily understandable manner that many an arts review seems esoteric in comparison.

He may, of course, be criticised as somewhat prematurely destructive in dismissing, on the basis of his own writing style, jargon of any kind in science or politics as intellectual arrogance.

That would presuppose that complicated problems can generally be simplified without having to accept substantial distortion.

This demand for simplicity of expression hits out particularly hard at dialectics, of which Sir Karl has little short of a personal hatred and which he erroneously interprets as automatic.

It also hits out at theological hermeneutics, which he brands as irrational because it fails to proceed in accordance with his academic standards on falsification.

He sees himself as a post-Kantian advocate of the Enlightenment yet has been accused of tending to rely on typically pre-Kantian Enlightenment views.

Even so, he remains true to his concept, especially as it has enabled him to exert political effect.

With his fundamental outlook he is able to meet half-way the scientific ideal of an external world independent of the subject (and without God), although it seemingly fails to realise that a radical atheism tends to be "to the greater glory of God."

This is because even a belief that no god exists is merely what Kant called a manner of holding something to be true that is better not seen in absolute terms.

Reducing all possibilities of understanding to rationalism is an involuntarily dogmatic aspect of Popper's approach that could be subjected to critical scrutiny in a variety of respects.

It would first, however, be more interesting to outline his main topics, all of which are closely interlinked and make up a largely coherent world view.

The close connection between the life and work of Popper the critical rationalist and tolerant democrat is particularly interesting — and the reason why he never tires of stressing that he owes his main idea to a biographical experience in late puberty.

Just after leaving school (early, voluntarily and without taking school certificate examinations) he came into contact, as a 17-year-old, with socialist anti-war propaganda.

For a short while he embraced communism, which seemed to him at the time to hold forth the promise of a better world.

The intolerant dogmatism with which this promise was to be kept, over the heads of individuals, then prompted him to take a particularly critical view of all promises of salvation, a view that led, in the final analysis, to the formulation of his philosophical outlook.

He has since sought to make modesty and not arrogance, tolerance and not dogmatism, freedom and not ideological subjection the focal points of his approach.

The Socratic formula "I know that I know nothing, and barely that," became his motto, a variation on which was the basic tenet of his famous "Logic of Scientific Discovery."

"We do not know," he wrote, "we guess."

That doesn't make him an agnostic, which would mean that any quest for knowledge was doomed to failure from the outset.

His basic philosophical outlook is one that dispenses with the certainty of positive knowledge yet is not prepared to abandon the striving for truth.

Parting company with positivism, much discussed in the Vienna of his day and seeking to arrive at a criterion for truth, Popper was on the lookout for a way to reform science and at the same time find a compass for democratic politics.

His solution to the problem is that he sees all knowledge as conjectural knowledge, invariably tentative and in need of correction.

It can, he argues, be improved by means of logical criticism without the need to be guided by a yardstick of truth.

Logical seres him not as a means of inductive cognition, the existence of which he, like Hume and Kant, denies.



He sees it as a critical method that works in the reverse direction.

The more profound a statement is, the more easily illogical implications can be identified in it and, by means of deduction, falsified.

The elimination of errors is, according to Popper, the progress to be made by knowledge, combined with the hope that a scientific and political world view can in this way be gradually improved.

Learning from mistakes, the significance of which is that they can thereafter be avoided, is modelled on a Darwinian trial and error approach.

Its advantage is that it is applied to theories, with the result that unfit theories (not people) fail to survive.

Popper has never written a work on ethics, yet this programme readily yields a moral component in requiring the application of scientific theory to political practice.

Wars need no longer be waged if use were made of the opportunity to sacrifice nothing but theories, ideologies and world views.

That is easier said than done, of course. In practical politics no-one voluntarily abandons fundamental views and everyone is more inclined to gain acceptance for them by means of force if need be.

A politically more practicable idea of his is that a government can be constitutionally prevented from imposing dictatorial rule by making it fundamentally possible to vote it out of office.

This point can, incidentally, be applied with equal measure to civic protest groups, which would do well not to forget that they are neither elected nor can be voted out.

Eliminating errors thus has an internal dimension when it is applied not just within the theoretical framework of science but transposed to socially relevant sectors in which allowing theories (rather than their proponents) to die is of the utmost importance.

That is why Popper's philosophy limits itself to checking the validity of theories and pays no heed to how they originated.

This has been held against him, the argument being that it is somewhat one-sided merely to seek out illogical components of theories that can then be withdrawn from circulation.

Given Popper's emphasis on falsification, his dislike of verification in the sense of opening up new perspectives (or paradigms, as Th. S. Kuhn calls them) testifies to a far from inconsiderable shortfall in tolerance that ought not to be so substantial in free dialogue in an open society.

But it also shows that no philosophy can be free from prejudices and perspectives, a point that has failed to gain general acceptance, especially among those who view the Enlightenment as an absolutely impartial and unbiased approach.

Another surprising point is that Popper's main work, his "Logic of Scientific Discovery," is entitled *Logik der Forschung*, or "Logic of Research," in German.

One might philosophically concede that a rational elimination of errors is based on logical criteria, but the discovery of theories can only take place extra-rationally (not irrationally) and in a quasi-artificial manner.

No logic can supply new creations as long as only a deductive approach is adopted.

So if the philosophical sector of genesis and validity were to be dealt with comprehensively, the logic (of research as a critical authority by which to check validity) would need to be joined by an art of cognition by which to investigate philosophically the difficult sector of the extra-rational origins of theories.

Such objections must not, however, be allowed to detract from Popper's major contribution to science and politics.

It is, incidentally, an oeuvre for which his name has often been put forward for the Nobel peace prize, to which he would surely be entitled in view of his enormous effect all over the Western world.

Nearly all heads of state of democratic countries (heads of state subject to recall by being voted out) have sought and been given — advice by Karl Popper.

Karl Popper . . . hatred of dialectics (Photo: …)

Helmut Schmidt as Bonn Chancellor called on fellow-Social Democrats to read not just Karl Marx but also Karl Popper, whom he felt to be one of the most lucid thinkers of the age.

Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker took the opportunity, when on a state visit to Britain, of visiting him at home.

Political speeches on democratic fundamentals are barely conceivable without a reference to Popper's endeavours to maintain the Open Society (the title of his two-volume work written in New Zealand on the eve of the Second World War.)

His latest published book is entitled "In Search of a Better World." It draws a distinction between concepts for improving the world and promises of salvation that cannot be kept.

He sees himself as a Liberal but does not give preference to any specific political party, preferring to advocate a more Liberal outlook in all parties.

In the Federal Republic of Germany all leading parties refer to him as the thinker who can fairly be said to be the greatest current theorist of democracy even though his normative theory of knowledge cannot entirely be absolved of the suspicion of being dogmatic in its anti-dogmatism.

He owes his political acumen at least in part to a lifetime spent in many fields and in many parts of the world.

He left school early to study — unofficially — philosophy and natural science at the University Vienna.

He then studied for his university entrance exams the hard way, passed them and first went on to serve an apprenticeship as a carpenter.

He later became a social worker at the newly-founded Institute of Education in Vienna. Later still he took his PhD and taught mathematics and physics.

His first academic appointment was as a lecturer of philosophy at Canterbury University College, New Zealand, where he emigrated — as the son of Jewish parents — when Austria was threatened by Hitler.

In 1947 he was made a lecturer at the London School of Economics and Political Science, which gave him great satisfaction.

Yet he never held a chair of philosophy despite being awarded over 20 honorary degrees and writing books that have been translated into many languages and are available almost all over the world.

In addition to several other honours

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■ THE ARTS

Exhibition shows art the Third Reich banned

Hannoversche Allgemeine

With considerable ceremony, including a gala opera performance, Adolf Hitler celebrated the dedication of the grandiose *Haus der Deutschen Kunst* in Munich, allegedly the birth of a new concept of the German people, on 18 July 1937.

It was the blackest day in many hundreds of years for German art.

At the same time the Führer announced the "relentless cleansing process" against "the last deleterious elements in German culture."

That had been going on for a long time. More than 17,000 pictures, sculptures, sketches and drawings were withdrawn from German museums during Hitler's rule. They were put under lock and key, sold abroad for foreign currency, destroyed or burnt.

These also included the best that Europe's artists had produced in the period of change to modern art after the turn of the century and were included in German collections, works by Vincent van Gogh, Edvard Munch, Chagall, Pablo Picasso and many others.

The best works from ambitious German artists of this period, from expressionists such as Ernst-Ludwig Kirchner, Erich Heckel, Ernst Barlach and the realists from Otto Dix to George Grosz, have now been brought together as a kind of deterrent example and put on display in the "Degenerate Art" exhibition at the Altes Galeriegebäude in Munich's Hofgarten.

Eye-witness reports described how repulsively the Nazis put on their spectacle in 1937. The 730 picture and sculptures, brought in a hurry from German museums, were herded close together. They were hung, sometimes without frames, on nails knocked into the wall provisionally or were standing on roughly-made pedestals. Nazi slogans were interspersed between them.

Former sales prices were displayed on signs and denounced. Often the sums quoted were from the inflation period but no indication of this was given.

Two million people are reported to have visited the exhibition in Munich. Berlin, where it was mounted in a particularly vulgar fashion, in Düsseldorf and Frankfurt. The figure is unconfirmed since no entrance tickets were issued.

Reports say that among the smirking, grinning people of the time who visited the exhibition there were also many thoughtful faces to be seen.

Hitler at any event was conscious of his triumph. He made the most of it. There is hardly a longer, better constructed, more good humoured, more blunt speech from the dictator than that of 18 July 1937.

He did not need to yell any longer. He had made his point in his battle against "decaying art."

Hitler, the failed art student from Braunau, who had set himself up as the supreme muse of the nation, hated modern art like the plague, but this hate was not an end in itself.

The Jewish-Bolshevik contaminated cultural ghost, that he continually portrayed, served the purpose of a concept of the enemy, with which and against which he rallied round him the masses.

He never took the trouble to express his rejection in artistic terms. Rejection itself was his purpose.

The campaign against modern art was not just a blow against the artists and their works, against the museums, enthusiasts and collectors. It was not aimed just at aesthetes. It was in fact directed against the mass of the people, that until then had little or no taste for an art that had broken with conventional artistic concepts in its playful freedom as well as its brutal veracity.

Hitler appropriated the national taste to himself and so brought it behind him and made it toe the line. From then on he dictated what taste to have. It was used to serve his ends which at this time were already based on war and victory and, what can now be seen, directed to death.

It led the way from the massive new *Haus der Kunst* to the gloomy flight into the bunker at the Führer's headquarters in 1945.

Hitler's triumphant mood on the 18 July 1937 can be explained by the fact that everything had fallen into his lap until then in his battle against modern art. He himself hardly needed to move a finger. He did not need to dirty his hands.

The dirty work was done by a few helpers and a limited number of fellow-travellers that certainly included many sceptics and a few opponents.

Anti-semitic and nationalist groups had had their effect on Hitler before and after the First World War. During the Weimar Republic period their strength declined, but during the world economic crisis Alfred Rosenberg and other future important Nazis were skillfully able to channel these powers to their own purposes.

Some people were worried about this but no-one spoke out when after Hitler obtained power in 1933 great artists from Max Beckmann to Oskar Schlemmer were removed from their university teaching posts.

There were few regrets when the first artists, mainly Jewish and politically involved, were sent on the difficult road to emigration and the others had to join the Reich Chamber of the Fine Arts.

An artist could not exhibit unless he or she was a member of this chamber, and later an artist could not obtain materials for painting, drawing and so on if not a member and as a consequence could no longer work.

For a short period the debate over expressionism brought about a relaxation of the regime's iron rule on the arts.

A few national idealists, who were looked upon with favour by Goebbels at first, tried to save the work of Barlach, Nolde and others for the so-called new German art on the grounds of its "northerly" character. There were exhibitions in which some "degenerate" artists could take part. Arguments about who was responsible for what within the Nazi Party meant that a few persecuted artists could work in the country or get out of sight elsewhere.



The sort of art that got right up the Führer's nasal passages . . . a viewer at a current exhibition of art the Nazis banned. (Photo: AP)

After the war it was revealed that private assistance was offered to a significant degree.

Apart from bread-and-butter works done in this seclusion some pictures were painted that admit unashamedly to being modern art.

But the general guidelines remained unalterable. The action taken against the museums in 1937 makes that abundantly clear.

This campaign was led by a painter, Hitler's favourite, Adolf Ziegler.

He also spoke at the opening ceremony of "degenerate art" in Munich and he was in no way inferior to his lord and master when he spoke.

At this time Hitler met with very little opposition from abroad, people were silent fearing to oppose. The sham of the 1936 Olympics was still having its effect. The diplmomatic corps trailed after him to the *Haus der Kunst* in Munich.

The emigrants, beginning with the talented Jankel Adler and the splendid sculptor Joseph Abbo — these two stand for hundreds — had a dreadfully difficult time.

There was little reaction to the now famous exhibition in London in 1938, "20th Century German Art," a fearless echo of Munich, which was opened by a speech from Max Beckmann, who had emigrated to Holland. The event attracted only a few headlines and only a few works were sold.

The British public found the rigorous modernity and unconcealed veracity alien. Apathy and rejection prevailed and a London critic wrote: "If Hitler is right anywhere then it's here." It was still thought abroad that Hitler could be appeased and tamed.

What did the new concept of the German people involve that Hitler propogated on 18 July 1937, and that had already been put into effect at the *Haus der Kunst* exhibition?

It was an image of healthy, toughened, muscular bodies with laughing, optimistic faces. That was formulated by Hitler for the future.

In his judgment of contemporary art Hitler expressed himself more modestly. He praised the "decent cross-section" of the exhibition that would act as valuable and viable humus for future painter geniuses.

In this way he revived pride, hope and loyalty in many painters of conventional stature, painters who in the years before had arduously enough struggled through life.

The truth is that painting took on, in this speech and more so in later speeches, second place after architecture.

From then on Hitler had little more to say for the painting exhibitions mounted annually in the Haus der Kunst than condescending, thin-lipped praise.

From then on his interest was devoted to large buildings for the Party and his fame after death.

He bent over architects' drawing boards, architects who worked on gigantic parade grounds, enormous administrative buildings and medieval castles.

Hitler included directives in his speech. He recalled over and over again the pyramids, ancient holy places and the ruined cities of the Mayas. He was occupied with memorials for eternity, that is for his own immortality. He spoke of the year 2000 and beyond.

Hitler's architectural ideas brought closer, even when outwardly concealed, a gigantic cult of the dead, staged for his own ego and decorated with pictures and sculptures of the people.

Today the whole business seems like a bad ghost, but the ghost was real.

This knowledge of this reality from yesteryear is threatened in the variety of the arts that we enjoy and over which one can from time to time get annoyed. That must be prevented.

The arts can act as important seismographs of the state of freedom in our society. It is not only a bad thing for aesthetes if they are wrecked.

Bernhard Häußermann

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 18 July 1987)

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he was knighted in 1965 by Queen Elizabeth II, since when he has preferred to be known as Sir Karl (rather than Herr Professor).

The book of his that can be said to be most highly regarded at present is his "The Ego and its Brain," dealing with the body and soul problem and co-authored with Sir John Eccles, the Nobel Prize-winning brain physiologist.

One of its conclusions is that it is not the ego that belongs to the brain but the brain that belongs to a free ego.

Despite the attempts by "evolutionary epistemology" to reverse this state of affairs, Popper's life's work has been a struggle to uphold the freedom of the individual ego.

Eberhard Döring

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 24 July 1987)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Dispute over how dangerous chemical used in dry cleaning is

Scientists disagree on how dangerous a chemical called perchlorethylene (PER) is. It is also known as tetrachlorethene and is used in dry cleaning. Neither is there agreement on whether changes to the law should be made.

There is a strident debate over whether perchlorethylene, one of a group of chlorinated hydrocarbons widely used in industry to get rid of grease and as an intermediate product for consumer goods, can cause cancer.

It is not known exactly how much finds its way on to the German market, but estimates range from 100,000 to 200,000 tonnes a year.

The Federal Health Agency (BGA), in Berlin, uses US statistics to deduce that roughly half is used by dry cleaners.

Exposure to small quantities for a short time is probably not dangerous. The BGA refers to a low level of acute toxicity. Its inflammatory and caustic effect on the skin is also limited.

As a detergent, PER has the advantage of being non-explosive and virtually non-flammable.

Its chronic toxicity is another matter. In larger quantities over longer periods, exposure can damage the central nervous system, the liver and kidneys.

A dispute is currently in progress on whether perchlorethylene can cause cancer: the BGA has carried out a number of tests in recent months and found PER to accumulate in fatty foodstuffs.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

In older housing in the vicinity of dry cleaners heavy concentrations have been found both in the air and in foodstuffs.

As part of an expertise on chemical waste a BGA department arrived in 1985 at the conclusion that opportunities of assessing and reacting to the health risk posed by PER were unsatisfactory.

On 27 February Dieter Grossklaus, BGA president, sent an unpublished report on chemical waste to the Environment Ministry in Bonn (and a copy to the Health Ministry).

It outlined findings about various substances that had been checked by the Berlin agency at the Ministry's request.

The report complained that "expert hearings" were seriously delaying examination of the health hazard aspect of consumer protection — it meant perchlorethylene.

Additional difficulties were caused by gaps in knowledge about its toxicological properties and about the quantities marketed.

So precautions were taken by applying Paragraph 13 of the 1980 Chemicals Act, which provides for graduation and statutory classification of hazardous chemicals.

Herr Grossklaus wrote that a decision was urgently needed. This passage of the covering letter he wrote to Bonn last February specifically referred to PER.

The BGA referred to US findings that perchlorethylene caused leukaemia and cancer of the kidney and liver in laboratory animals.

In addition to pure carbon tetrachloride, to use yet another name for the pungent substance, a number of chemical stabilisers used in admixture were either critical or inadequately researched.

So the BGA suggested in February a number of safety precautions. PER ought, it suggested, to be classified as:

- R 40: "irreversible damage possible"
- R 48: "risk of serious health damage in the event of exposure over a longer period" and
- S 24: "avoid skin contact."

The Berlin agency also proposed calling on the Senate Commission for the Examination of Working Materials that Pose a Health Hazard to classify tetrachlorethene as a chemical justifiably suspected of being capable of causing cancer in humans.

It also says consideration should be given in the longer term to whether it should be wholly or partly banned (highly unlikely if less dangerous substitutes are not available).

The Commission is entitled to specify maximum place-of-work concentrations, known as MAK ratings, for dangerous substances.

The present MAK rating for perchlorethylene is 50 parts per million. That, oddly enough, is more than the 30ppm laid down by the terms of the Atmospheric Protection Act.

The MAK Commission has yet to classify PER as carcinogenic even though its chairman, Dietrich Henschler, is quoted in the BGA report as having said in 1986 that "after oral exposure powerful genotoxic metabolites (waste substances that damage the genes) have been found in rats' kidneys."

Würzburg toxicologist Henschler has come in for criticism (as on comparable earlier occasions). In a letter dated 1 June, details of which have now been released, he wrote to the BGA advising it to defer a decision on definitely classifying tetrachlorethene as a carcinogen.

He explained that the commission had for two years been trying hard to redefine criteria.

On the basis of earlier criteria, he wrote, the commission would have little option but to classify tetrachlorethene as causing cancer in animals. But it now proposed a new risk category, that of substances known to cause cancer in animals but not yet known to in man.

Both nationally and internationally, scientists have so far worked on the universal assumption that for safety's sake any substance found to cause cancer in animals must be considered as encouraging or causing tumours in man.

The procedure now advocated by Herr Henschler is seen by many experts as abandonment of the precautionary principle, especially as the carcinogenic properties of toxins are often hard to identify in man for statistical and methodical reasons.

The Greens in the Bundestag and Alternative List in Berlin have called on Herr Henschler to resign. They say the MAK Commission must make decisions on primarily public health grounds.

But they point out that this is unlikely since one third of its members represent industry, half the labour medicine institutes represented can be considered to be pro-industry and the industrial insurance schemes are interested mainly in avoiding claims.

They call for the committee to be manned by representatives of the BGA, the trade unions, environmental associations and critical research institutes.

The Federal government must also immediately classify PER as a carcinogen and list it as such by the terms of the Hazardous Substances Regulations.

Representatives of the BGA have since conferred with Herr Henschler. Further discussions are to be held after the summer recess.

Surprisingly, the BGA's Detlev Kayser, head of the chemical assessment department, has said in response to a query that Herr Henschler's arguments had been impressive.

He had said the genotoxicity of perchlorethylene had not been proved; the way in which it caused cancer in animals was not known and the findings could thus not be applied automatically to man.

Yet most experts, including staff of the WHO cancer research institute in Lyon, France, and scientific staff at the BGA, continue to hold the view that substances found to cause cancer in animals are dangerous and that how they cause cancer is a secondary consideration.

Neither the BGA nor other authorities are sure what to do about the high PER levels recorded in the vicinity of dry cleaners in several *Länder*.

They are not sure what they ought to do and not sure what they can do. Only a ban, or restrictions on use, can be imposed by the terms of the Chemicals Act.

The BGA can merely recommend its classification as a hazardous substance, the decision being reached by the MAK Commission.

Dry cleaning regulations merely specify technical details and the Atmospheric Pollution Act also fails to provide an effective means of dealing with the problem.

It is all very well for the Berlin Senate to say it will order the closure of dry cleaners if they exceed certain *PER* levels in the foreseeable future, but the fact is that the authorities are not legally entitled to do so, as they themselves admit.

Indoor pollution ceilings by the terms of the Static Emission Act might be more feasible, although checks are easier said than done. Limits are not yet specified, but Erdwin Lahmann of the BGA says the authorities are now considering what levels are advisable.

They would certainly need to be well below the present MAK level because people who live near dry cleaners include risk groups such as pregnant women.

Last but not least, the sale of perchlorethylene-polluted food can be banned by the terms of foodstuffs legislation.

Yet a ban would hit the effect, not the cause. It would also only affect food retailers in the vicinity of dry cleaners and not protect private households.

Justin Westhoff

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 25 July 1987)

■ FRONTIERS

Women learn to hit the solar plexus with a stiff whim! wham! wendo!

Sabine made me strong. She said: You can do it if you want to. My alter ego gave me a shove — keep calm, breath deep — crash bang.

The effect was really strong. I smashed a two and a half centimetre thick piece of wood with a hefty blow of my fist.

This was not just a display of strength but a demonstration that wanting to do something comes before being able to do it.

Sabine had nothing to do with he-man stuff. She wanted to give us women self-confidence, encourage us, teach us to defend ourselves. Our sex is not as weak as it is made out to be.

"Wendo," self-defence taught by women for women, is the name of the weekend course at the adult education centre. In the course of two days twelve women, naturally no men, are taught to recognise their own strengths, powers and possibilities.

They learn how to deal with normal male force, the techniques of shaking off attackers or in case of need knocking some one out.

They learn all the tricks, but mainly the will to self-assertion and self-confidence.

A shock blow to the solar plexus is a preliminary to self-defence.

"Wen-Do," women's way, comes from North America, where the technique, a mixture of karate, judo and jiu-jitsu, has been taught to women for the past 15 years. About eight years ago Canadian instructresses brought their know-how to the Federal Republic.

The course is now available at further training and women's centre and in women's holiday courses, but this self-defence is primarily practised enthusiastically in large cities. In Berlin ten per cent of women are Wendo-trained.

Twelve women, that is reason enough for scuffling about for a weekend. Sabine, our instructress, wanted to know exactly why. The answer is anxiety. A recent survey showed that 71 per cent of all women are anxious when they are out alone in the evening.

The police record more than 7,000 cases of rape annually.

The Family Affairs Ministry estimates that the real figure is probably ten times that. That means 200 women per

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day, 76,000 per year. So their anxiety is justified. In the Federal Republic a woman is raped every five minutes.

Tanja, 18, does not want to be excluded from social life, the theatre, going to the disco, from concerts, just because on the way home something could happen.

Anna, a student, lives in the suburbs without any public transport. If need be she has to take an expensive taxi.

She learned Wendo for her parent's sake, so that they were no longer anxious when their daughter was out in the evenings.

Christine, who has to ride her bike through a wood every day, does not see why she should sit around at home because some fiend could be lurking about.

Regine, 36, divorced, owns a car, but that is no defence against being molested.

At best it is pragmatism that divides the older from the younger women. Maria, 60, regards herself as more likely to be the victim of robbery than rape. She reacts more defencelessly at rudenesses than her daughter. Both are taking the course and at least can defend themselves verbally.

Mareike is self-confident that she can rap pawing figures in the cinema, but she is frightened going home because she is so small.

For Sabine it did not matter if the women were small, tall, old or young. We were women, which meant potential victims, because all men are potential offenders.

Sabine made great play of this so that we did not think we were exceptions to the rule.

What mattered to her was that every individual knew her own limits when, no matter the situation, the woman was threatened or felt threatened.

Unpleasant and annoying things can happen. A woman can be starred at in a pub. She can be chatted up in the street. What can we do about this, how can we defend ourselves?

A scene was acted out: a man makes eyes at woman in a café and it is obvious how upset conformist, how demure stern, how impressively offended we reacted. No-one sprang up and told the stupid fool to get lost.

We learned to scream, bringing the sound from the depths of the diaphragm. At first it sounded like ooh and later like an apology — it was embarrassing to behave so rudely — but on the second day the scream was like the roaring of a pride of lions.

We learned levering techniques and how to parry blows. We learned how to hit and kick. We learned how to use our bodies as weapons, the weapons of a woman.

We practised being attacked. Anna was the attacker who crept up from behind and choked me.

The attacker did not have a chance. In a matter of seconds I had thrown "him" on his back. I landed on the downed attacker and gave him a well-aimed blow and, if it had really happened, I could have made off.

Anna complained that I had not kicked him/her in the scrotum.

We learned men's weak points and where to hurt them.

We no longer made up and no longer show off our upbringing that forced upon us a readiness to be a victim, sensitivity and compassion.

Sabine's instruction and the group discussions had their effect.

Women must defend themselves — our lack of confidence in ourselves must give way to a robust will to self-assertion. Getting to know our own strength makes the horror of being attacked on a lonely street less frightening.

But Sabine could not give us an easy answer. There are just as few secret weapons as their are dead certain methods of escaping from a rapist, a professional criminal.

Studies in America, where there is conclusive statistical evidence about self-defence, have shown that women who know how to defend themselves can more often foil an attacker and that in 85 per cent of cases they were able to throw off their attackers when they have screamed at them and hit them.

It has also been noticed that a self-confident manner has a deterrent effect on a potential attacker who has carefully selected his victim.

Sabine made us strong, encouraged us and warned us about over-estimating ourselves, when faced with an armed man. No matter how much it hurts the fact is that we are not as strong as men.

In such cases it is appropriate to ward off the danger by the well-tried talking him out of it principle.

Our chance is in the surprise effect, in a quick as lightening reaction in a situation swiftly comprehended.

Wendo, self-defence taught by women for women is, despite all the polished tricks, not a fighting sport such as karate, which can scarcely be learned in a weekend course anyway.

Wendo is something invented and a secret best protected from men. Sabine warned, don't speak about it, not in a pub, not with your friends or husbands — they could be offenders too.

Do gymnastics, brush up your technique with girl friends, tell them about us, but keep quiet in company about us.

Mareika betrayed us and is ashamed. In the first evening, in the exuberance of her successes, she described the "softwood" attack to her husband and had to pay for it.

Two days of Wendo works wonders. Our last scream together in the training centre was a real warning sign.

As regards betrayal, Sabine, I have not exposed more than necessary about what Wendo is. I have kept quiet where possible about Wendo in action.

Kerstin Möller

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 July 1987)

Continued from page 2

in their desire for greater independence, and especially for relations of their own with the West.

The Soviet leader was felt to be engaged in a serious bid to bring the Soviet Union on to a par with Eastern Europe. That might flatter Eastern Europe but his overtures could prove too impetuous.

What mattered was whether he was prepared, within Comecon and the Warsaw Pact, to establish the more up-to-date and equal relations he envisaged within the Soviet Union and, to some extent, in ties with the West.

At present, the conference was told, positive assessments of the Soviet leader prevailed among all progressive groups in Eastern and South-East Europe, but it was too early to arrive at a final judgement.

Viktor Meier

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 30 July 1987)

Armed forces still not for females

"I am very interested in the Bundeswehr. The men, who would have to fight for us, would be defending Germany. All well and good, but why can't women and girls also be trained?"

The schoolgirl who wrote this is 16. She expressed her wish to join the army in a letter to the Chancellor.

She not only raised the question of equal opportunity, but also expressed the desire to be in close contact with nature.

She wrote: "Sometimes I watch when soldiers are on manoeuvres in the open air and I wished that I could be there too."

A 23-year-old geology student would like to be in the military police and observed that "she would regard it as an honour and would be very proud to be the first woman or one of the first women in the MPs."

She continued: "I believe that a woman with the necessary motivation would perform better than a man who reluctantly has to do his national service."

Views such as these please the Defence Ministry and the Ministry would like to have more of them. But the Ministry has to reply with a negative to women who would like to serve in the armed forces.

Article 12 of Basic Law confirms that the Bundeswehr shall be made up of males and probits women from being in the armed forces.

There are at the present 158 female medical officers and chemists in the medical service. Five of them are senior medical officers and there are 53,000 female clerks in the military administration (38 per cent).

But planners at the Defence Ministry in Bonn have made it known that for the next ten years there are no plans for including women in the services to maintain the forces' authorised strength.

The sharp refusal to have women in the armed forces, principally from the SPD and the trades unions, conceals the fact that over 20,000 women have registered with the Defence Ministry.

A 24-year-old office worker would "passionately like" to be a regular soldier. Her father was a regular sailor.

A girl mechanic would like to be in the technical service "to make my country safe, protect and defend it." An 18-year-old girl who had not been able to find a trainee job, said she had the first public examination in secondary school (Mittlere Reife), and a knowledge of English and French.

Another saw Luftwaffe planes every day and would like to be a pilot. She wrote: "You, Herr Wörner (Defence Minister) as a former jet pilot must be able to understand me."

A 19-year-old would also like to be dealt with in the same fashion as the men and in the future fight for the fatherland.

A girl student would prefer to be a professional officer than be bothered with communications studies.

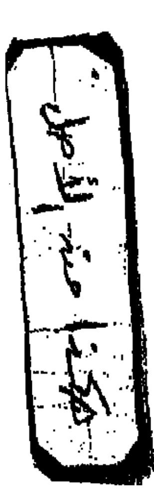
A young women would like to be in a military band. "I have spent 12 years making music in my leisure time," she wrote.

One girl student, aged 16, asked why there could not be any female geologists in the armed forces. Well, why not?

She wrote: "There is stress and worry in schools, which can be seen today when school reports are being given out. In the Bundeswehr one learns to accept and respect one another," wrote the girl who wants to be a soldier.

Dieter Putz

(Kieler Nachrichten, 14 July 1987)



■ SOCIETY

German Moslems try and shake off the cliches

KielerNachrichten

They were German Protestants or Catholics, but they no longer felt at ease with Christianity as it is practised today.

They are more convinced by the Koran than by the Bible.

The head of the central residents' registration office in Hamburg, Manfred Sorg, said that parallel to the trend to leave the churches there was a slight tendency for more Germans to take up Islam.

There is no precise data, because people in this country are not recorded according to religion.

German Moslem Erwin Bauer, 33, editor of the monthly magazine *al-Fudsçhr* (The Dawn), published by the Islamic Centre in Hamburg, said that in the Hamburg region alone 200 people were converted to Islam last year.

He estimated that there are about 10,000 German Moslems in the Federal Republic to which could be added about 40,000 German women, married to foreign Moslems.

Wearing a Bavarian jacket Bauer said he could see no way of disposing of the cliché of a Moslem with turban and baggy trousers.

He said: "I have no difficulties linking the positive sides of German culture with Islam, so long as they are not in contradiction of Islam."

Bauer converted from the Protestant Church because it did not provide him with any spiritual belief. He added: "Religion and politics in West Germany are widely separated from one another, which would be impossible in the Islamic world."

Bauer is called by his co-religionists Ali. He himself says that he learned about Islam "at an emotional, internal level."

He was dissatisfied as a teenager and thought about the meaning of life. Later he studied computer science.

"But this was not what could fulfill me in the long term," he said. So he discontinued his studies and went to Pakistan. There he came in contact with Moslems, who took him on a pilgrimage to a holy shrine where he, like others, kissed the entrance doorway. He said: "I did not want to do so at first. But I was overpowered by it all. I understood that the saints lived still, because their spiritual thoughts still had influence." He said: "This new level of communication meant for me my admission into Islam." He studied the Koran for a year at the Iranian holy city of Qum and learned Arabic and Persian before he returned to Hamburg. Twenty-seven-year-old Sabine Schmidt, a language student from Hamburg, came to Islam by a very different path. She said: "My way was intellectual. I got to know some Moslems at the university. They were Persians, Arabs and Turks, whose humane behaviour impressed me."

But Sabine Schmidt only concerned herself deeply when she met her husband, a Moslem from the Lebanon.

She said: "I read many books about Islam. This brought me into intellectual conflict with the Bible and discussions with Moslems."

After two years of intensive study she decided to become a Moslem.

She said that after she had been converted she had to come to terms with a headscarf and other clothing ordained by Islam. She said: "But I dared to take the step."

She and other women students regularly met. They believed that "it was no longer necessary to appeal to men and that woman was not looked upon as a sex object, but as an equal member of society."

When she appeared in the university with a headscarf for the first time she was surrounded by five men.

She said: "They mocked and abused me. They were the only bad experience I have had."

She has also had pleasant experiences. She said: "Moslem women speak to me on the street and they are delighted when they discover that I am German. Or I get a smile in unfriendly shopping precincts."

Many people take her for a Turkish woman and express astonishment that she can speak German so well.

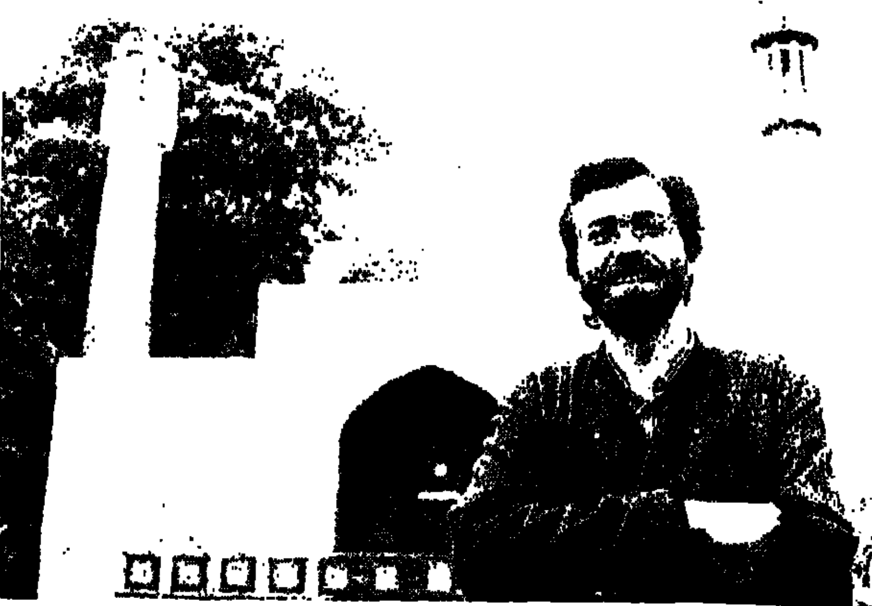
Sabine Schmidt is accepted by most of her friends and defended from her critics. Others retreat from her.

She said: "Going over to Islam was a dramatic thing for my Catholic family." But she was not disconcerted because she can practise "pure Islam" in the Federal Republic without any limitations to her personal freedom.

She said: "I would find this difficult in many countries."

Fouad Hamdan/dpa

(Kieler Nachrichten, 18 July 1987)



Erwin Bauer found a new level of communication in Islam. Hamburg mosque is in the background. (Photo: dpa)

Buddhism makes a bid for official recognition

Not for the first time the active participation of German Buddhists at the 22nd Protestant Church Conference in Frankfurt focused public attention on Buddhism in this country.

Buddhism is increasingly being introduced into West German life, as it is in the whole of Europe.

Most Buddhist ideas, concepts, schools of thought and trends, that, over the course of 2,500 years have been developed in many Asian countries, are to be found in the 100 communities that exist among West Germany's Buddhists, be they based on the canons of Pali, or Zen or Jodo-Shinshu, or *friends* of the teaching of Buddha, a group into which many Buddhist trends come together.

Buddhists do not proselytise. But the Buddhistische Religionsgemeinschaft (BRG) and the affiliated Deutsche Buddhistische Union (DBU), that claims to have been especially invited to Frankfurt, represent West German Buddhists, and they have the opportunity, which where possible they have used to the full, of intensifying inter-religious dialogue.

Early this year these two associations established a central organisation in Munich, "a visible sign of genuine consensus."

The "Buddhist Council" speaks for West German Buddhists to the world at large and has published the first issue of a "Newspaper for Buddhism," entitled "Lotusblätter." One day this could perhaps be a forum for German-language Buddhism. It is planned that the publication should appear quarterly. The publishers of this quarterly, BRG and DBU, could make an important contribution to the integration of Buddhism into West German life. Another important step forward was the establishment of the "Buddhistisches Wohlfahrtswerk," the Buddhist welfare organisation, in November. The DBU is the older of the two German Buddhist organisations. It is an umbrella organisation of Buddhist charitable organisations that emerged in 1958 from the Deutsches Buddhistischen Gesellschaft (DBG), founded in 1955.



Buddhists meditate in West Berlin. (Photo: dpa)

The BRG on the other hand is a community of practising Buddhists. It was set up in Hamburg on 7 September 1985 by delegates from 22 communities, representing 72 Buddhist groups. In the future it is to be "organisationally and financially" strengthened and consolidated.

Most Buddhist organisations work with the BRG and it plans to develop into a "stable organisation acting with the confidence of all German Buddhist organisations."

The BRG now aims to be recognised by the state as a "public corporation or body."

Important preconditions for this are that the BRG has a long-term future and an extensive membership, a common Buddhist profession of faith and a constitution.

There are 15 members representing the various regions of Germany on the Buddhist Council that controls the BRG. They simultaneously represent various Buddhist teachings such as Theravada, Zen, the Tibetan school, Jodo Shinshu, the seminaries and institutions as well as communities such as the Argya Maitreya Mandala order and the "Westlicher Buddhischer Orden."

West German Buddhists have given their attention to the question of inter-religion discussions for some time. At the Second International Conference of the Buddhist Union of Europe (BUE) in Turin in September 1984 the "Turin Programme" was drawn up. This formulated seven tasks for the future and they were recommended to the various national organisations as guidelines.

One recommendation proposed that "constructive, unbiased discussions should be intensified with other religious groups, particularly the Christian churches."

In open discussion the differences in standpoint would be made clear, but also "the linking elements."

The author of the Turin Programme was the Plochingen businessman Karl Schmied, head of the Buddhist community in Stuttgart and now president of the DBU. His Buddhist name is Amoghavaja. For a long time from

Continued on page 15

■ HORIZONS

Lawyer fights for haemophiliacs laid low by Aids-infected coagulants

Karl-Hermann Schulte-Hillen has short, grey hair and a moustache and wears rimless spectacles. He looks like many people's image of the American TV lawyer, Perry Mason.

And like Perry Mason, Schulte-Hillen is an assiduous and meticulous compiler of the facts of the matter at hand: in this case it is haemophilia and Aids.

Schulte-Hillen reckons that the German insurance business is on the point of facing some of the biggest claims in its history, about 500 million marks at a conservative estimate and possibly as high as a billion.

There are an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 haemophiliacs in West Germany, most of whom need regular injections of a blood-clotting substance to prevent or halt internal and external bleeding. This substance is made from donated human blood.

Most of the blood used to come from the United States, where at the beginning of the 1980s, Aids began to make its mark. The unknown newcomer attacked and laid low the body's immune system, making victims defenceless against illness.

The principal way of infection is through human blood. And it is from

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this blood that the life-saving coagulant for haemophiliacs is made. Some, no one knows how many, have been infected with Aids through this coagulant.

In West Germany, more than 60 haemophiliacs have developed the full symptoms of Aids and 32 of them have died. Wives have been infected from their haemophiliac husbands. The great fear is that as many as half of all haemophiliacs may be infected.

When last year the connection between the blood coagulant and Aids became overwhelming, the two haemophiliac associations in the country hired the services of Herr Schulte-Hillen, a lawyer who had represented thalidomide victims.

The laws governing medical drugs was tightened up as a result of the thalidomide affair and, since 1978, manufacturers have had to take responsibility for their product, regardless of whether negligence can be demonstrated or not. A limit of up to 200 million marks per product or 500,000 marks per victim was established.

But the legislators left one fatal flaw: provision in the law was made only for financial loss, although in the thalidomide case, the damage was not financial. In fact, both parties reached agreement, without the law, on damages for losses that weren't financial.

Also, under the 1978 law, damages must be fought for in civil law, where negligence by the manufacturer must be demonstrated.

Until recently, the insurers of blood-coagulant product manufacturers had been rejecting claims for damages. The manager of the Colonia-Versicherung said on television that Aids victims had no right to damages (*Schmerzensgeld*, or "pain money") because, he said, "the question must be asked, to put it in non-technical language, where are these pains?"

That was the signal for the lawyer. He had to establish negligence in order to, if necessary, claim for damages in a court of law.

In the first half of this year, he assiduously built up his dossier about haemophiliacs and Aids. And, he says, the results are an eye opener.

On 24 March 1983, when no haemophiliac in West Germany had Aids, the American authorities laid down guidelines for makers of blood-plasma products, to avoid the risk of passing on Aids.

On 18 June 1983 the first talks in Germany about Aids and haemophiliacs was held on the initiative of the drugs industry. Present were representatives of the Bonn Ministry of Health and its subordinate authority. There was a dispute over whether the coagulant was even likely to carry the Aids virus.

Herr Schulte-Hillen found out that as early as 1979, and certainly from 1982, Behrings-Werke in Marburg had developed a heat process to kill not only bacteria in blood products but also much smaller viruses as well.

This meant that haemophiliacs using coagulants treated with this process would no longer run the risk of getting hepatitus, herpes or even Aids. Schulte-Hillen found that no haemophiliac who had used treated coagulant from the start of the illness had been infected by Aids.

On 14 November 1983, federal health authorities held another discussion on the subject in Berlin. The minutes record that the authority had not thought about withdrawing blood products not treated with the heat process, despite its availability.

Instead, warnings about the possibility of infections were to be included in each packet of coagulant.

For Schulte-Hillen, here was evidence of possible negligent behaviour. If serious illnesses such as heptatitis or Aids could be transmitted through the coagulant, why was distribution continued?

But changes to the regulations were not brought into force for another nine months, on 8 June 1984. The patient was to be made aware that the coagulant "in rare cases" could infect him or her with Aids. But even then, withdrawal of untreated blood products did not happen. A month later, the four haemophiliacs became the first in Germany to get Aids.

On 31 December 1984, the drug companies voluntarily halted distribution of non-treated products. Since October 1985, the sterilisation process has been compulsory.

In the meantime, a Berlin lawyer has sued the Federal health authorities with causing actual bodily harm by acting too late. The case has is still pending.

The Bonn Health Minister, Rita Süssmuth, denies the charge and says the authorities acted in time in accordance with the knowledge available to them. Their actions stood comparison with what had been done anywhere in the world. There were no foundations for the Berlin lawyer's allegations.

She said that as early as 1983, the sterilisation treatment was being used to kill the Aids virus. Schulte-Hillen replies that use of the treatment was neither laid down by law nor in general use by the coagulant manufacturers.

Since April this year, the drugs companies have been pushing their insurers to settle claims. Support for them has also come from the health ministries in Bonn and the *Länder*.

Schulte-Hillen says the lowest award to a haemophiliac with the Aids virus but where the illness had not manifested itself should be 100,000 marks. He is threatening the drugs industry with legal action to get it.

He intends completing a survey of haemophiliacs and extrapolate the probable extent of damages from that information.

Bernd Knebel

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 17 July 1987)

Continued from page 14

Württemberg he has led "the long march" towards state recognition of German Buddhism.

It was decided at the annual conference of the DBU in May 1984 in Stuttgart to strive for state recognition of Buddhism as a public corporation or body, and so obtain legal and social equality with the Christian churches.

As soon as he was elected DBU president in 1984 he made approaches to the Baden-Württemberg cultural affairs ministry since the granting of public corporation or body status is a responsibility of this department of government.

Early in the discussions it was obvious that the DBU, as the umbrella organisation for Buddhist groups could not be granted the status of public corporation or body. This could only be granted to an association of individuals, united by a common constitution and a single creed.

The DBU immediately set about forming a vital organisation platform for recognition. The Buddhistische Religionsgemeinschaft was established to which members of the various Buddhist groupings could send delegates. In addition it was possible to join the DBU as an individual person (without making a contribution but by making a voluntary donation.)

Various commissions worked on a constitution and a "Buddhist creed" for a preparatory conference in April 1985. Almost all Buddhist groupings and traditions took part in this and at the founding conference of the BRG in September 1985 in Hamburg.

According to Karl Schmied the attempt to get over the last hurdles and obtain recognition in a few federal states came to nothing.

Various state representatives from the cultural affairs ministers conference raised doubts about the wisdom of recognising the newly-formed BRG, despite the fact that there have been Buddhist communities in Germany for the past 80 years.

Most federal state representatives went along with this view. Consequently Baden-Württemberg refrained from recognising the status of the BRG.

According to Schmied this does not exclude the possibility that in a few years' time "our important aim will be reached."

The positive attitudes expressed in Baden-Württemberg and in other federal states give him confidence.

He quotes from an excerpt from a letter from the Baden-Württemberg cultural affairs ministry dated 26 October 1986.

"Basically we appreciate the establishment of your religious community as a considerable endeavour and welcome contribution to the religious landscape of the Federal Republic."

Walter Schmidt

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 26 July 1987)

HIV virus: row over sacked male nurse

A male nursing aide who has Aids is not being allowed to keep his job at a Brunswick hospital. The reason given is to protect him from infectious illnesses.

But neither the 34-year-old victim nor Professor Adolf Windorfer, who is the Commissioner in charge of matters relating to Aids in the Lower Saxon government, believe this. Windorfer is also the head of the health department at the Social Ministry.

He has announced that the Ministry will back the dismissed worker and might even take the city of Brunswick to court.

The affair began last year when the nursing aide was given a routine blood test. Without the knowledge of the man, the blood was tested for HIV (Aids) and it was positive. But this information was passed on to the employer and the man himself was not told. The man has now sued the doctor with breaking his oath of confidentiality.

When the man wanted to return to work after a long illness he was prevented on the grounds that he had to be protected from possible infections because of the state of his immune system.

Professor Windorfer argues that if normal hygiene and care regulations are observed, there is no risk of infection to either the man nor patients.

The man, who is now on holiday pending the outcome, was then offered a new job at the telephone switchboard. He turned that down. Then he was offered a place in another Brunswick hospital where the patients are mostly undergoing light psychiatric treatment.

But this proposal met with heavy resistance from doctors and care staff.

Professor Windorfer can't understand this. He says that especially in the field of health, the attitude is strongly against the isolation of HIV-infected people.

Attitudes in this case are hardening. The man has now been told that his pay is being withheld.

Meanwhile, the city has given assurances that it wants to keep the man employed in the health service. The man himself doesn't know what is going on. He says "they probably want to keep on going until I get so nervous and fed up that I throw in the towel myself. That would be the easiest way to get rid of the embarrassment."

He is afraid that his refusal to work on the switchboard will be taken as a general refusal to work, with the result that he would be liable to be sacked.

Eberhard Löblich

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 20 July 1987)